Isabel Cardigos

IN AND OUT OF ENCHANTMENT:

Blood Symbolism and Gender in Portuguese Fairytales

ACADEMIA SCIENTIARUM FENNICA

The core of fairytales is the realm of enchantment. This study argues that the bloodshed associated with menstruation, defloration and childbirth – natural episodes in the lifecycle of women – is central to a syntax of enchantment and disenchantment that is common to all fairytales. It is a reflection on the gendered voices that have generated and contributed to the structure and symbolism of fairytales; and it takes shape along with the discussion of Portuguese versions of wide-spread tale types like AT303 *(The Two Brothers)*, AT313 *(The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight)* and AT516 *(Faithful John)*, as well as through an intriguing ecotype of *Snake Helper* tales (AT533*), 'The Little Snake'.

Cover illustration: A clay figurine "Primavera"
(Estremoz, Alentejo, Portugal).
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IN AND OUT OF ENCHANTMENT: BLOOD SYMBOLISM AND GENDER IN PORTUGUESE FAIRYTALES

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IN AND OUT OF ENCHANTMENT: BLOOD SYMBOLISM AND GENDER IN PORTUGUESE FAIRYTALES

BY

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To Carolyn and Simon

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

Ch. 1. THE NATURE OF FAIRYTALES

1. Defining the Subject

In this study, I analyse four examples of traditional European fairytales in the light of texts found in Portuguese folktale collections. The tale types analysed are *The Twins or Blood-Brothers* (AT 303), *Faithful John* (AT 516), *The Snake Helper* (AT 533*) and *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight* (AT 313).

The intention of the analysis is to differentiate the masculine and feminine voices that have generated the structure and symbolism of fairytales. In particular there is a focus on the symbolism of bloodshed as it occurs in hero and heroine tales. It is argued that the bloodshed associated with menstruation, defloration and childbirth – inevitable episodes in the natural life cycle of women – is central to a syntax of enchantment and disenchantment that is common to all the tales.

Scholars generally agree on the distinctiveness of the fairytale as a genre of oral narrative, despite arguments as to its exact definition, which largely depends on the particular approach they take. The classic form of the fairytale might be described as a narrative of the adventures of young people who start in an undesirable position, leave their own space (either because they are forced to or of their own volition), and are tested by strangers (animal, human or supernatural). They acquire the magic resources or helpers that endow them with the power to overcome dangers or carry out impossible tasks, a capacity for achievement which accords them status. As a result they achieve a recognition which allows them to marry into royalty or confirms the strength of their relationship with a desirable partner.

This basic pattern only defines a central position in a spectrum of stories. The mode in which the tale is told, its stylistic characteristics, is also essential to its definition (Lüthi 1987). The narrative describes fantastic events, characters, locations – this is what provides the characteristic 'feel' of the genre. But whereas in legends these fantastic elements are dwelt upon for their own sake, in fairy tales they are

taken for granted, treated quite naturally as devices to carry on the action (Röhrich 1991). The action occurs in an undefined past – in the Portuguese fairytales that provide the material for my study the typical opening formulas are 'Era uma vez' ('There was once'), or simply 'Era' or 'Havia' ('There was') – and in an undefined place – usually one in which a peasant milieu is contrasted with palaces with a feudal flavour. Against this background the characters are silhouetted in bold and simple lines. The pace of the action is fast, only slowed down by a need for symmetry and the ritual duplication or triplication of certain episodes. The logic is simple and convincing – and totally incomprehensible to the rational mind.

The coherent simplicity of fairytales is compelling. If we accept their premises the question 'why' hardly ever arises. But the premises are completely unreasonable. In this lies the fascination of the stories, both for children and adults. How can a genre have come into existence that is at once so logically rational, yet founded on such an irrational basis? The answer seems to lie in a symbolism, the key to which the modern world has lost.

The core of fairytales is the realm of enchantment. If we can explain the movement of non-enchantment to enchantment and back to non-enchantment, as expressed in a wealth of different symbols, then we will be able to explain the logical illogicality of fairytales. Röhrich has noted that a characteristic of fairytales is that they 'rarely begin as tales of magic. The narrative's initial situation is almost always possible. Only as the story develops does the narrative abandon external reality, only to recover it at the end of most tales' (Röhrich 1991: 3). For my present purpose, I shall rephrase this observation and define the fairytale as a narrative characterized by alternations between states of enchantment and disenchantment, the latter state usually appearing at the beginning and at the denouement.

2. The Fairytale as a Genre of Oral Literature

2.1. *The Language of Folktales*

In turning from written to spoken narratives, the issue of meaning as the articulation between text and reader has to be put in different terms. Because a folktale is normally the end product of a long orally transmitted chain, its text tends to closely match its past reception. The explanation of the remarkable similarity of folktales told in different languages and in countries far apart should be looked for in the unwritten laws that devolve individual creative energy back into the

community to be continually reshaped into something like a language.

Such an insight led Propp to analyse the syntax of the fairytale in his *Morphology of the Folktale* and Lévi-Strauss to translate myths into chain systems of binary oppositions and equivalences. The success of structuralist methodology owed much to the fact that it was largely elaborated upon an appropriate medium: the orally transmitted text. It then expanded to enquire into the 'language' of many different forms of human expression. Oral tales are akin to linguistic phenomena, following the same path and using the same medium. In their essay, 'Le Folklore, Forme Spécifique de Création', Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev put it as follows:

> Comme la langue, l'oeuvre folklorique est extra-personelle et n'a qu'une existence potentielle; ce n'est qu'un assemblage complexe de certaines normes, de certaines impulsions, un canevas de la tradition du moment qu'animent les interprètes par les enjolivures de la création individuelle comme le font les producteurs de la parole par rapport à la langue (Jakobson 1973: 63–64).

The narrator is a more or less gifted and creative *crafter*, he or she is the speaker of a specialist language, not the reciter of a set text.

2.2. *The Politics of Fairytales*

The fairytale speaks with a multiple voice, which includes voices far older than the language in which one now reads it. We should hear the voice of the actual informant. We can perhaps detect some of the most recent, individual voices – of the recorders and collectors and editors who served as filters between the informant and the reader. But, underneath those voices, one is aware of a host of other, silenced, voices.

Modern research has now firmly established that folktales as they existed in their oral form were the creation of the humble and the dispossessed (Holbek 1987: 40ff.). They were the voice not only of peasants, but also of landless labourers and small craftsmen, and of wanderers – soldiers, sailors and beggars (Dégh 1969: 68ff.). And yet it could be argued that there is a level at which the tales do not voice the interests of those who tell them. The conservative nature of fairytales as a voice upholding the *status quo* has often been pointed out. It was also the conclusion arrived at by Greimas in his semiotic analysis of fairytales. In his view the *contrat social* is the compromise the hero makes with social order (the king), offering his freedom in exchange for the power and riches that come with marrying the princess (Greimas 1965).

Other forms of oral narrative such as the jocular tales have been rightly regarded as a radical confrontation with official culture (see Bakhtin 1984: 1–58). But, because the ideology of the dominant classes has the 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1977) of becoming the accepted norm, such tales are relegated to an inferior status that amounts to an emasculation of their potential value. Unlike jocular tales, fairytales do not suffer from this kind of devaluation precisely because they tend to conform to the rules of propriety assigned by the dominant classes. Their symbolism, though it can be interpreted as a form of disguised criticism and protest, just as equally leaves room for interpretations of it as anodyne and conformist.

When little distinction is made between fairytale and myth – as is the case with many commentators, including Greimas – the by now established notion that the main function of myth is the upholding of the social order will also inevitably be applied to the fairytale. But one should establish a difference between *upholding* the social order – the function of myths – and *reflecting* that same social order. The latter would be the case with fairytales, the product of subordinate classes, ideologically conditioned by the dominant ones, but nevertheless still expressing the condition of the actual crafters of the fairytales.

There is one register in which fairytales are the wishful-thinking voice of the humble swapping roles with the mighty. But because the fantasy does not stretch as far as wishing for an overturning of the social structure itself – only the roles are swapped – this discourse not only does not threaten, but actually supports the systems of power. In this sense fairytales echo the 'world upside down' of the spirit of Carnival, a form of social protest but, ultimately, of social control (Burke 1978).

The voice of fairytales is certainly not the voice of social revolution. Fairytales reflect the cohesion and stability of a given community; in this sense, they condone the *status quo*. No wonder that, for instance, the character roles in fairytales are often rigidly pre-cast according to gender and reflect the design of an ideological frame. It is within this 'language' of the symbolic power, that we can perhaps disengage other discourses, other voices.

2.3. *Woman's Voice*

European fairytales have been regarded, from as far back as Plato, as emanating essentially from the domain of women. They have been decried as 'old wives' tales', Perrault referred to them by the nickname 'Mother Goose Tales', and certainly female involvement in the trans-

mission of these tales seems to be particularly the case for those stories least connected with heroic myths, as recent research seems to indicate (Warner 1994).

Surveys on the gender of informants have been inconclusive and even misleading. For whereas men, functioning at ease in the public domain, are more visible and accessible to collectors, women tellers, confined to the domestic sphere, are less readily available to outsiders, a view recently forcefully argued by Christine Shojaei Kawan in an as yet unpublished communication to the XI Congress of the ISFNR.

Holbek's survey of the Danish fairytales collected by E. T. Kristensen shows that, whereas narrators of hero tales tended to be of either sex, feminine tales made up only one-eighth of the repertoire of male narrators (Holbek 1987: 168). Kristensen came across good female narrators only later in his collecting activity and at first complained that they were 'extremely reticent, presumably because of bashfulness' (ibid.: 82), though his best sources for folksongs.

In her classic survey of the tales told in a Hungarian peasant community, Linda Dégh seemed to confirm research that challenged the belief that women had ever been the main source of story-telling (Dégh 1969: 90–92). The reportoire of a storyteller increases with the cross-fertilization of contact with different people and, whereas women are generally confined to their home, men have more exposure and the confidence that arises from facing their own and other communities. *Active* tellers were therefore more frequently found among men than among women, who would retell as *passive* tellers, to their children and members of their family circle, what they had heard from men.

The Aarne–Thompson index of folktale types (1961) seems to confirm this weaker presence of women, as it shows that two-thirds of the fairytale types are masculine stories. But even if this is the case, and the *Types* has been criticized for misrepresenting the corpus of feminine fairytales (Lundell 1986), we are still left with the fact that one-third of the tale types are of feminine tales (tales with a female main protagonist) and that these tales are precisely the ones least likely to feature in the male storyteller's repertoire. The collection of Portuguese folktales compiled by Alda and Paulo Soromenho (1984, 1986) also shows that, although narrators prefer to tell tales whose main protagonist they can identify with, there are more hero tales told by women than feminine tales told by men.

It also appears to be the case that, once they step outside the home circle, women narrators may turn into outstanding story-tellers. It is the narrator Catarina Rosa Riga, represented by 17 tales, who rightly receives a special mention from the Soromenhos (1986: 559n), and it is

a woman, Zsuzsánna Palkó, who stars in Linda Dégh's collection.

In fact, whether they are masculine or feminine, the majority of fairytales are probably first heard in a domestic environment, very likely from women. Hence, perhaps, the fact that women's reportoire includes a much larger percentage of masculine tales than men's include feminine tales. But even when women were passive tellers who left the models untouched, their mode of telling must have had an effect on their young audience. When they grew up and were exposed to the influences of the outside world, these early listeners may then, if talented, have created their own style and become active tellers. At home, women transmit all fairytales and, in this sense, their influence should apply, to some extent, to the genre at large.

But even if women are responsible for the great majority of feminine tales, those tales retain a pattern that reflects the dominant structures of society, namely those of male power. Imagination would find it difficult to design other models. Heroines and villains either conform to precast moulds; or, if they don't – as in the case of the heroine disguised as a man who is courted by the queen or becomes a soldier – they are cast in the 'man''s mould and this inversion becomes the focus of the plot, without altering the implicit expectations of male and female behaviour. This is equivalent to that inversion of roles between high and low in the stories which never subvert the social structure itself.

Feminist criticism has denounced the patriarchal voice of fairytales, particularly those appearing in the Grimms' collection (Tatar 1987; Bottigheimer 1987; Zipes 1979), although this denunciation refers particularly to the bourgeois re-modelling and appropriation of fairytales. But it is precisely the best-known heroine tales that are the main target of feminist criticism. One could say that women's voices are in double measure the voices of the humble or oppressed 'reflecting' in their story-telling the actual structures of power.

Envisaging on the 'problem of women' for historians of popular culture as well as for social anthropologists, Peter Burke points out that 'the difficulty of reconstructing and interpreting the culture of the inarticulate is here [concerning women] at its most acute; women's culture is to popular culture what popular culture is to culture as a whole' (Burke 1978: 49).

Could those voices also weave a discourse of an entirely different nature, whose structure unfolds patterns that point to different social codes, to different levels of awareness? The answer can only be given through an analysis of the tales themselves, but, in order to disengage this discourse from the others, it is useful to clarify the distinction between myth and fairytale.

3. Fairytale and Myth

Ever since the studies of the brothers Grimm, the similarities between fairytales and myths have interested many different scholars. For the philological school, headed by Max Müller, fairytales and myths were bundled together as manifestations of a 'disease of the language', the result of a corruption of meaning resulting from the dissemination of different languages from an original linguistic core. As a result, fairytales, like myths, were thought to revolve around struggles between moon, sun, night, dawn and day, which were personalized as heroes (or gods).

In the last decades of the nineteenth century the subject occupied members of the anthropological school of myth interpretation, such as Edward Tylor, Andrew Lang and Sydney Hartland, who shared a unilinear view of evolution, the belief that 'all peoples ascended the evolutionary ladder in exactly the same manner. The savages of today were the Victorians of tomorrow, simply arrested by local circumstance, and conversely the Victorians of the contemporary moment were the savages of yesteryear' (Dorson 1972: 148). In their studies, Greek myths were considered to be the rationalization of a certain mode of mythical thought, whose primitive elements they traced to earlier cultures, whose ways of life were thought to be mirrored in the culture of the savages of the day. In a similar fashion, fairytales were thought to be survivals of habits of a mythical thought that was still at work in the peasant mind and the mind of children. The homology between ontogenetic and phylogenetic development was taken as a matter of course. A tacit equation was made between peasant, savage and child, all several stages behind the sophisticated minds of the Greeks who, in their re-formulation of myths, had superseded (and forgotten) their dark origins.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, a new psychoanalytical school of interpretation again linked myths and fairytales in a discussion of the drama of a family triangle, centred on the son. Again the assumption prevailed that ontogenesis mirrored phylogenesis, and Oedipus became the paradigmatic hero.

3.1. *Myths and Heroic Tales*

In all these varied schools of thought one can detect a chain of assumptions which derives from the concept of a hierarchical connection between myths and fairytales, with fairytales being a vestigial, degraded form of myth. The interest of fairytales resided mainly in their

prestigious connection with myths. As a consequence, attention was focussed in particular on the 'heroic tales' – the ones which have a more obvious link with myths. Such tales naturally have a male as their protagonist – Holbek notes the 'lack of lady savages' in the arguments of the anthropological school (1987: 232). Hartland writes on *The Legend of Perseus*; the psychoanalyst Otto Rank explores the pattern in *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*; Lord Raglan surveys the biographical constants of *The Hero* (Segal 1990).

For Freudian research, the subject of the Oedipal triangle is Oedipus. All myths emanate from a nucleus which is *the boy* (subject) and the parents (objects) of the family drama. The Jungians, it is true, paid a great deal of attention to goddesses. Jung collaborated with the classical scholar Karl Kerényi in a study of Demeter and Persephone (Jung and Kerényi 1971), and Erich Neumann produced a monograph on the Great Mother (Neumann 1963). In a similar vein Robert Graves investigated the nature of female mythical dimension in the 'White Goddess' (Graves 1961). But mother or fertility goddesses are still seen in relation to what or whom they bring forth.

The implicit *subject* of reflection was always male, from Müller's 'day' threatened by 'night', to the 'son' torn between identification with the father or undifferentiation with the mother. Scholars perpetuate an ideology identical with that of the myth-makers themselves, as male-focussed material legitimizes male-oriented research. One aspect of this shared bias is the supposed continuity between myths and fairytales.

In his *Morphology of the Folktale*, Propp states that 'the fairy tale in its morphological bases represents a myth', and suggests that the tale of the *Dragon Slayer* (AT 300) – the fairytale equivalent of the Perseus myth – is possibly the archetypical fairytale, from which all others were derived as transformations (1968: 90). In fact the 'random sample' on which Propp based his study – the first hundred fairytales in Afanasiev's Russian collection – is unrepresentative of the fairytale in general, it mostly concerns heroic fairytales, in fact the only ones which Propp's analysis really fits.

In his criticism of *The Morphology of the Folktale*, Lévi-Strauss regrets that Propp selected fairytales rather than myths as a subject of enquiry, since they are weakened forms of myth, less appropriate for a structural analysis because contrasts are not so clear-cut (Lévi-Strauss 1977b: 127–129). And we know that Lévi-Strauss' own analysis of myths led him to posit the hero as mediator and woman as the *object* of mediation (Lévi-Strauss 1977a: 61). For the overwhelming majority of myths, women are 'the other'.

But this is not the case with a great many fairytales. The fairytales of

our childhood are crowded with female protagonists. These tales become almost invisible in the studies that relate myth to fairytale. Let us try and understand why.

3.2. *Distinctions Between Myth and Fairytale*

Scholars soon realized that, though often similar in structure and content, there were distinctions between myths and fairytales which needed to be clarified.

Otto Rank, although basing his arguments on Freud's anthropologically questionable views on human origins, makes illuminating distinctions beween myth and fairytale (Holbek 1987: 270–272). Myth is patriarchal and still echoes the male alliances and rivalries connected with the 'primal horde' preceding the advent of the family. It corresponds to psychological primary processes, closer to the unconscious and appears, therefore, as immoral to the civilized reader. Fairytales, on the other hand, are ascribed to a later stage in both sociological and psychological terms. They draw limits to primitive drives, their concerns are social and ethical. They are connected with psychological secondary processes, akin to those occurring when dreams are narrated and their inconsistencies motivated or ironed out and moral censorship applied.

For the Russian structuralist scholar E. Meletinsky the basic difference between myth and fairytale is that myth is concerned with 'a collective fate (the fate of the universe and of "mankind")', whereas the fairytale is concerned with 'the fate of individuals' (1974a: 67). Elsewhere he says the 'fantastic tale is already basically separated from concrete tribal beliefs [...] the rules of behaviour of the hero in the tale are determined not by magical prescriptions, fear of various spirit-monsters, rituals and norms of common law, but by much more abstract socio-moralistic ideals' (Meletinsky et al. 1974: 75). Meletinsky agrees with Rank on the ethical character of the fairytale in contrast with myth, as well as on the different social structure that the fairytale reflects. Hence the importance given to marriage in fairytales: 'Marriage thus appears in the fairy tale as some kind of supreme value, and all kinds of marvellous objects [...] are only instruments to the final success'. Conversely, in myth 'the theme of marriage is secondary, and the acquisition of mythical (cosmical and ritual) objects or the acquisition of a guar-dian-spirit (precursors of fairy tale helpers) comes first' (ibid.: 79).

Joseph Campbell, in his analysis of *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, makes the same distinctions, assigning different spheres to the mythical and the fairytale heroes:

> Typically, the hero of the fairy tale achieves a domestic, microcosmic triumph, and the hero of myth a world-historical, macrocosmic triumph. Whereas the former [...] prevails over his personal oppressors, the latter brings back from his adventure the means for the regeneration of his society as a whole. (Campbell 1975: 42–43.)

The equation of myth as sacred (and true) and fairytale as profane (and not-true) (see Reid 1974: 168–172) is taken up and modified by Mircea Eliade, who argues that the equivalence between fairytale and myth 'persists even after the "banalization" of the religious experience, after the (apparent) desacralization of the world'. Eliade suggests that the fairytale would have had 'the role of re-creating the "initiatory ordeals" on the plane of imagination and dream' (Eliade 1963: 201).

All these different scholars seem to agree on some basic points concerning the distinction between myths and fairytales. They give myths a chronological precedence over fairytales, as myths correspond to deeper layers of consciousness and would, therefore, stem from a more archaic type of society (the assumption being that ontogenesis mirrors phylogenesis). They also give – at least implicitly – a hierarchical precedence to myths in relation to fairytales, as myths belong to the realm of the sacred and have an important function in the societies in which they thrive. Myths are, therefore, both more primitive and more powerful than fairytales. Cosmic achievements – rather than domestic ones such as marriage – are the stuff of myths. The mythical hero quests for the means of attaining those achievements that came to justify a certain social structure. B. Malinowski coined the term 'charter' to describe the way 'the traditionally established values, programs and principles of organized behaviour' are justified in myths by the invocation of a change that occurred *in illo tempore*, as the result of divine or heroic intervention (Malinowski 1960: 8, 140, 162ff.).

3.3. *The Crafters of Myths and Fairytales*

This hierarchical precedence of myth in relation to the fairytale seems, therefore, to rely on the *social impact* that myth had on the community, on its *sacred character* and on its *cosmic aims*. Such features have implicit consequences as to the 'authorship' of myths.

Firstly, if myths are charters of the ruling powers, they are likely to be the inventions of those same powers. Fairytales are, by comparison, socially ineffectual and, if anything, aim at inverting the powers that be – the poor ending up by taking the place of the rich – and so they are

likely to have been the product of the disempowered.

Secondly, and more crucially for my argument, I suggest that, unlike myths, fairytales are the product of women at least as much as men. Even leaving aside the frequent attribution of fairytales to women's lore ('Old wives' tales', 'Contes de ma mère l'oye'), let us explore this authorship in terms of the distinctions laid out above.

(a) The equation that relates the masculine to the public and the feminine to the domestic spheres is widely accepted by sociologists and anthropologists alike (see, for instance, the famous essay of Sherry Ortner, 'Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture' (1974)). If the domestic domain, as opposed to the public domain, has universally been assigned to women, the fact that the achievements of fairytales are of a domestic rather than public nature suggests a strong feminine presence in fairytale craftmanship.

(b) Rather than the acquisition of some power tool leading to a socially or cosmically meaningful change, the final aim of fairytales leads to marriage or to the successful establishment of a new family. In virtually all traditional social structures woman's ultimate aim is marriage and maternity, any other recognition being outside her social scope. Insofar as they reflect female interests, fairytales are likely to have been, to a large extent, a female creation.

(c) Myths belong to the realm of the sacred whereas fairytales belong to the realm of the profane. Another equation, that which relates man to the sacred and woman to the profane and stands at the core of mythical thought, is such a deeply ingrained ideology that it still thrives in the main world religions. Barred from the realm of the sacred, women's works would, of necessity, belong to the realm of the profane. This being the ideology, the equation would of course be accepted by women as well as men. Therefore, once myths were desacralized, they would have been taken and transformed by precisely those who were barred from the sacred, and who, in this process, changed their aims and their functions.

(d) Given the emancipation of fairytale from myth as outlined above, my argument is that female traits should be far easier to find in fairytales than in myths. Though conditioned by social and ideological constraints, women should have been at relative freedom, in fairytales, not only to shape heroines reflecting their own interests – subjects rather than objects of another – but also to influence the making of hero tales.

Myths have also been contrasted with fairytales as belonging to a more primitive, primary layer of human development, still devoid of an ethical and inter-relational social consciousness. The socializing element of fairytales is perhaps indicative of a process (albeit histori-

cally invisible) in which women were active agents of a cultural evolution. Women have always had the major role in the education of children, which may well have had more far-reaching consequences than the feats celebrated in heroic myths. Phillippe Sellier, when he points out that there are no women writers on epic themes, suggests that heroic feats are a masculine 'rêverie' (1988).

As for the hero's shamanic transformations, or his death and resurrection as a means to achieve some cosmic change – the very essence of initiatory rituals – this is a mythical conceptualization of events naturally experienced by woman in the periodicity of her sexual cycle. Translated into alternations between enchantment and disenchantment, this periodicity is precisely the aspect of myth that has been taken up and given an invariable structure in fairytale lore.

Fairytales are often the focus of feminist criticism because of their reflection of, and insertion within, a prevailing patriarchal worldview. Feminine roles and codes of behaviour are rigidly pre-cast according to the accepted norm of the structures of power. But in heroine tales they also reflect woman's awareness of her own nature and we can witness tales such as 'The Devil's Daughter' (AT 313, which will be the fourth tale type we analyse later) in which the heroine begins as the 'mythical object' of the plot and evolves into becoming its real subject.

A large number of heroine tales involve a last crucial episode, beyond marriage, connected with childbirth. Some hero tales (such as type AT 516, which we shall discuss when analysing 'The Prince Turned Into Stone') seem to be structurally modelled on precisely this same pattern, a feature which does not exist in hero myths.

A feminine reworking of the mythical hero in fairytales is perhaps also present in the 'un-heroic' nature of many fairytale heroes, who are led into the adventure almost in spite of themselves and whose 'hard work' is carried out by their helpers rather than themselves. Theirs is – just as with fairytale heroines – an adventure whose undertones are more initiatory than heroic.

4. Ritual and Fairytale

It can be argued that myths, because they are relevant to the social network of a community, are bound to an external reference, whereas fairytales are free from such constraints. Fairytales develop along rules that are dictated by a more subtle imperative, with no immediate external reference but that of being satisfying and entertaining. Nevertheless, it has often been pointed out that fairytales follow a pattern

with well defined characteristics, that seems to stem from a mental blueprint far more formalized than that which created myths. Lévi-Strauss finds in fairytales a weakened form of myth in which binary oppositions are not so neat. Nevertheless, on the grounds that the external constraints that still bind myth to reality have been lifted from fairytales, one would be inclined to assume that fairytales, as freer products of the mind, would be more likely to reflect 'the existence of (mental) laws operating at a deeper level' (Lévi-Strauss 1970: 10).

I would suggest that, far from being free constructs of the mind 'communing with itself' (Leach 1967: 132), fairytales reveal the mental imprint of a psychological imperative that must have once been grounded in a social reality, a reality of the same nature as ritual. The connection between initiation in its ritual context and fairytales has been made by many.

Propp has amply documented the connection between the heroic fairytale and funeral rites and male puberty rites in *Les Racines Historiques du Conte Merveilleux* (1983). However, he pays little attention to heroine tales. Although he stresses that 'no motif of the wondertale can be studied detached from the tale as a whole' (ibid.: 17, my translation), this great pioneer of structural analysis is not innovative when he studies the ritual origins of fairytales. His crucial concept of function appears only in the very general outline of chapter headings that loosely follow the sequence of *The Morphology of the Folktale*. In both these works Propp chose to regard fairytales as 'transformations' of the Dragon Slayer story. It seems to me that, had he paid as much attention to feminine tales, he might well have been provided with a more reliable pattern with which to articulate structure and ritual.

In 1956 Lutz Röhrich could already point out to German readers several folklore scholars who, in Germany, Russia and Sweden, had made the connection between feminine fairytales and ritual (Röhrich 1991: 98). Fairytales of the 'Maiden in the Tower' (as well as Snow White's house in the woods, and the sleep of 'Sleeping Beauty') were linked to girls' ritual seclusion during their first menstruation in traditional societies. More recently, Anselmo Calvetti (1987), N. J. Girardot (1977) and Steven Swann Jones (1990) have argued, on the evidence of feminine fairytales, that these actually display an entire female initiatory pattern. Jones confirms, at the level of plot structure, the observation already made by Girardot and Calvetti that heroine tales appear as dramatizations of three crucial stages of feminine life: puberty, marriage and childbirth.

Many myths display patterns of an initiatory nature, but aetiology remains their primary function, that is, giving a charter to a certain reality by showing how things were before the hero changed them.

This feature does not exist in fairytales such as we find them in Europe, Asia and North Africa. Disembodied from a reference to reality present or past, their dimension is entirely fictional. And yet, traces of ritual and initiatory patterns are found in many of the heroine tales – which are relatively rare among myths.

Walter Burkert admits that feminine tales, unlike myths, clearly reflect initiation rituals, which he sees as originally stemming from 'demonstrative accentuations of biologically programmed crises, menstruation, defloration, pregnancy and birth' (1979: 57).

Meletinsky, who combines a structural with an anthropological perspective, stresses the 'rules of the game' that the heroes of fairytales seem to follow in a far more structured way than those of myth. He points out that preliminary tasks, those that qualify the hero to succeed in the main tasks of the tale, are an obligatory feature of fairytales: 'Specific to the fairytale is a dual opposition between the preliminary test and the basic tests (*absent or irrelevant in archaic folklore*): the means versus the aim, the validation of the correct behaviour versus the main deed' (Meletinsky et al. 1974: 79, my italics).

These formalized 'rules of the game', I suggest, argue in favour of an evolution of the initiatory pattern that the fairytale assimilated from initiatory rituals as norms of correct behaviour whose purpose became ethical, or educational. If we connect the social function of fairytales with their structure, we become aware of areas that could perhaps favour a link between fairytales and formalized rituals such as initiation.

For example, the absence of 'popular' initiatory rituals from the European scene for centuries coincides with the proliferation of a mature (sophisticated) form of tale – the fairytale – characteristic of the western world. Could the fairytale have arisen as a substitute for initiation rituals? European story-telling performance has been very different from its counterpart in Africa where active participation of the audience is a general experience, with the use of mime, dancing, song. Could the European fairytale have been crafted so as to replace – and, up to a point – fulfil those needs?

Now, if we make the distinction between hero and heroine tales along the lines of their broad connections with myth and ritual, we find that, whereas hero fairytales may be seen as reflecting on an initiatory passage – a subject that has been thoroughly explored, from Propp to Joseph Campbell – the feminine tale can easily be decoded as a verbal ritualization of a girl's growth into womanhood, in lieu of the ritual. The narrator would then fulfil the role of the initiator through the telling of a story. And, for lack of an actual initiation, the female listener would be brought up into the awareness of the cosmic con-

nections underlying her biological growth, as thresholds to be passed in a symbolic and glorified manner.

All the above ways of studying ritual traces in fairytales do without knowledge concerning the narrator and his/her background. But, on the edge of the thriving school of folklorists whose research is the product of fieldwork, my attention was drawn to a remarkable study of *Little Red Riding Hood* by the anthropologist Yvonne Verdier (1980). She analysed the story in the context of its French versions and interpreted it in the light of women's life in a French village where she had done extensive fieldwork (Verdier 1979). Informed by what she saw as female rites of passage in that village, she revealed an extraordinary richness of meaning in a story otherwise often taken as no more than a cautionary tale for girls. Her conclusion – which she leaves for historians to explicate – is that in the last two hundred years a major shift towards patriarchy must have occurred. Previously *Little Red Riding Hood* was a story that had obvious meaning related to women's lives and powers. In modern times the lives have changed, the powers have been lost – and the meaning of the story has become opaque.

I have no village to work with, but I do have the stories, and the information available in their variants. My comparative analysis will not confine itself to any single method. It will use as many as it needs to better listen and understand.

Ch. 2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES

1. The Stigma of Interpretation

Serious folktale studies began with the Grimms' volume of notes to their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in 1825. Those first researches immediately dashed their hopes that the folktales they had collected were a purely national heritage. The stories all had obvious analogues in material found in other European folk traditions. The pan-European nature of the folktale tradition however then led some to suggest that the stories were an Indo-European or Aryan heritage. But that idea too was later confounded by evidence that the stories were also found in Finno-Ugric and Arabic cultures.

In the meantime, however, the first precocious interpretative hypotheses had been launched as to the 'meaning' of fairytales. The Sanskrit scholar Max Müller explained the origin of many gods as due to a misunderstanding of original metereological terms. For the original Solar School of mythological interpretation (which included fairytales within its remit) the actors and actions of all these stories could be reduced to a simple repetitive symbolization of prominent metereological phenomena. Each day witnessed a titanic struggle between the forces of light (the sun) and the forces of darkness (night which swallowed the sun). Sunset and dawn provided the spectacular images which imprinted themselves on primitive consciousness and explained the setbacks and triumphs of heroes and heroines in myth and fairytale. The same allegorical method could explain details in the stories by recourse to associated meteorological phenomena such as dark rain clouds and thunder and lightning. Whatever truth there was in this hypothesis became engulfed by the sheer volume of trumpeted repetitions of staggeringly inane analyses (Dorson 1965).

When the bubble was pricked at the end of the nineteenth century, the ridicule that ensued was sufficient to make comparative studies academically suspect for the greater part of the twentieth century. Just as anthropology resolutely turned its back on the evolutionary explanations of Frazer, scientific folktale studies abandoned any attempt

at interpretation and turned to the collection, cataloguing and mapping of the historical and geographical appearances of types, subtypes and oicotypes.

More recently research into the *when* and *where* of fairytales has given place to a concern with the *how* of its structure and performance, but scholars still shy away from the *why* of fairytale's meaning. The fairytale is seen as dangerously easy to interpret, 'an open text' that can accommodate any number of exogenous templates.

2. Freudian and Jungian Interpretations

The vacuum left by this retreat from interpretation was filled largely by 'outsiders' from the field of psychology. These writers have until recently been met with reluctance by the scholars in folklore studies, because they tended to base their comments on a particular theory, without considering either contextual nor intertextual evidence (Dundes 1987). One version from the Grimms' collection, and even then often 'retold' at secondhand, would serve as the sole foundation for wide-ranging generalized hypotheses as to the 'meaning' of a folktale type. The situation is now changing with the appearance of professionally informed interpretations such as those offered by Alan Dundes and Bengt Holbek.

The different attitudes to the unconscious, the generator of symbols for both Freudians and Jungians, may serve as guides to their different approaches to interpretation. For Freudians the unconscious is a locked door behind which desires lie censored and repressed from early childhood, and symbols are the symptomatic expression of these censored and unrealized desires. These appear in dreams and surface in myths and fairytales. Fairytales and dreams share therefore the same symbolic formations. These come about through processes such as projection, splitting and displacement. Once these processes are recognized, they enable the symbolic content of dreams and fairytales alike to be decoded, revealing the various levels of an infantile substratum that can be interpreted in terms both of the history of the individual and of the human race.

Hero myths and tales are all variations on the Oedipal family drama, whose hero is the growing male child and whose individual development replicates the history of the species (Rank 1959). The idea that ontogeny reflects phylogeny in the history of myths was also advanced by Géza Róheim: 'like an individual, the myths grow up'. He compares the evolution of dragon tales – from the whale swallowing Jonah to the dragon pierced by the hero – to the different stages of

child development, from oral to genital (Róheim 1939).

Fairytales tend to be a favourite subject for psychoanalytical interpretation because they are thought to reflect the minds of people living in primitive societies, and it is assumed that they provide infantile material and therefore offer a clear mirror of the Oedipal conflict. However, neither 'primitives' nor peasants were childlike and there is more to fairytales – as there is, indeed, more to the myth of Oedipus – than just being variations on the family triangle. I would agree with Holbek that only the first sequences of fairytales can be successfully analysed from an Oedipal perspective of early development; their later sequences reflect the concerns of the young adult of both sexes (Holbek 1987: 287ff.).

However, because the usual audience nowadays is children, fairytales are interpreted as dramatizing the phases and problems of early childhood development. Bruno Bettelheim (1976) interprets them as therapeutic guides through the process of growing up. Although his interpretations are Freudian, his conception of the uses of fairytales connects him with the Jungian concept of a purpose ruling the processes of the unconscious. Indeed he has been criticized by the Freudian Jean Bellemin-Noël (1983: 112) precisely on this issue: 'Bruno Bettelheim fait comme si le merveilleux, en décrivant les durs obstacles que l'enfant rencontrera sur son chemin, lui enseignait le moyen de les éviter et de ne pas trop en souffrir'. And he adds that the fairytale narrative 'est affaire de langage, non de conduite'.

Fairytale symbolism has been successfully studied in terms of processes of transformation akin to those of dreams (Holbek 1987: 435–448). But its well organized structure, governed by a logic that is readily taken up by narrators and recognized by their audience, is not that of dreams. Fairytales are, indeed, more akin to an organized 'collective daydreaming' (ibid.: 434).

Besides, interpretations that decode fairytales in psychoanalytical language alone leave too much unsaid. While I happily engage in the Oedipal and sexual decoding of symbols in fairytales, I find that this is only one of the many doors that must be tried. Analysed only in this perspective the tale becomes no more than an illustration for a particular theory.

If for Freudians symbols are the language of a repressed unconscious, for Jungians, who regard the unconscious as a ground for growth, symbols emerge as 'messages', with a sense of purpose. Whereas psychoanalytical interpretations focus on the sexual symbolism of fairytales, Jungians are concerned with 'archetypes' – 'foundation stones of the psychic structure' that 'can never become the object of direct cognition' (Jung 1979: 20). These archetypal symbols

(also found in dreams, myths and fairytales) are a charter for human development. If in dreams symbols may relate to merely individual material, in fairytales they are the expression of archetypes emerging from the collective unconscious. The coming to terms with and ability to discriminate between the treasures found in the chaos of the unconscious is central to the process of individuation and it entails the integration of ego (individual consciousness) and self – a seat of being that transcends the individual.

2.1. *Anima / Animus*

Although modern Jungian thought aims at delving beyond the dualistic tradition, Jung himself fell into the trap of binary distinctions when he conceived in symmetrical terms his notions of *anima* and *animus* as unconscious projections of the maternal Eros and the paternal Logos of, respectively, male and female consciousness (Jung 1979: 14). The *anima* – variously connoted with the soul, eros, the psyche, emotion, feeling, wisdom – can rightly be seen as capable of embracing the vast otherness of human consciousness, the masculine unconscious. But the symmetry falls painfully short with the concept of *animus* – woman's unconscious projection of a father image, the Logos, which stands for the mind, for the spirit. The blatant paradox of connoting the logos or the mind with the feminine unconscious was unpleasantly resolved by Jung. For him the unconscious logos of women surfaces as '*opinions* instead of reflections (...), *a priori* assumptions that lay claim to absolute truth', an 'irritating' trait of women against which 'man has the feeling – and he is not altogether wrong – that only seduction or a beating or rape would have the necessary power of persuasion' (Jung 1979: 15). Although at higher levels the presence of the *animus* appears as a guide to the spirit, Jungian analysis of fairytales finds little room for expanding the concept other than in its negative form, as curiosity (as in *Eros and Psyche* (AT 425A) or *Bluebeard* (AT 312)) or intellectual arrogance (as with *The Riddle Princess* (AT 851)).

Jungian interpretations display a curious passion for the feminine that resents woman, a hostility that affects even the work of female Jungian scholars such as Emma Jung (1978) and the notable fairytale interpreters, Hedwig von Beit (1952–1957) and Marie Louise von Franz. In *Problems of the Feminine in Fairytales* von Franz starts by admitting the difficulty of disentangling the psychology of the feminine from the 'psychology of the *anima*' (1972: 1) and, although she opts for interpreting these tales both ways, she shows a marked preference for analysing them in terms of projections of the *anima*, i.e., as the pro-

ducts of male creativity. To my knowledge, it never crossed her mind to make a symmetrical analysis of hero tales, that is, to interpret them as feminine *animus* projections...

I would argue that there is a fundamental error at the root of these concepts, an error which lurks behind the paradox of assigning the logos to the unconscious (of women ...). The origin of this error was Jung's search for a symmetry that simply does not exist. For, if for the infant boy the mother is the source of all goodness that creates the numinous mother-image of the *anima*, surely the same applies to the infant girl. Therefore, even if only for the sake of tale analysis, the concepts *anima/animus* should be reformulated free from projections of mother or father images. The Great Mother rightly occupies an ample room, far more visible than the Father, in the Jungian pantheon of archetypes, and she can well be a projection of the maternal *eros*. But this very rich image, which belongs to the unconscious of both man and woman, should be disentangled from the *anima* archetype – simply because the image of the Father establishes a false symmetry, if they are used to translate the symmetry *anima/animus*.

I suggest that, for the analysis of symbols related to the *anima/animus* archetypes, account is solely taken of the personality's virtual (unconscious) gender potential – the stranger in oneself. If bridged through Eros, this must surely happen for both man and woman and not for man alone, and in a rainbow of images that must be richer than a simple cleavage along traditional gender attributes. These images would no doubt be refractions of a common pool of *soul* and *spirit*.

In my analysis I refrained from the urge to by-pass the Jungian perspective altogether, when I came to realize that irritation with its prejudiced analyses should not lead to rejection of the material it focuses its attention upon. Thinkers like Gaston Bachelard, Gilbert Durand, Joseph Campbell and James Hillman, all evolved their theories on Jungian grounds and, through different trends, developed a science of thinking that traditionally would have been labelled as feminine and poetic, but can no longer be labelled as illogical. In Jung's essay 'The Psychological Aspects of Kore' (1986: 143–164) the figure of Kore echoes strongly what I would define as woman's *animus*, particularly in the light of women patients' dreams around this figure. But Jung portrays it as either an aspect of man's *anima* or an aspect of woman's supraordinate personality. Hillman says that 'in the dualistic tradition psyche never had its own logos' (1981). I shall approach the concept of *animus* in heroine tales under a perspective that considers woman as the subject of potential dimensions whose enigmas, rather than being modelled on the male gender, are her own – 'psyche's own logos'.

The concept of the fairytale (and the myth) as an initiatory journey

has definite Jungian connotations when it views the journey into the world beyond as the perilous dive into the unconscious, from which one returns renewed and enriched. For both Joseph Campbell and Mircea Eliade the journey into the world of the dead would have initiatory implications both in psychological and anthropological terms.

When he refers to the mythical motifs in fairytales, Campbell states that 'mythology is psychology, misread as cosmology, history and biography' (1948). But if these psychological implications applied to both halves of the human race, why is the subject of the initiatory journey equated with masculine consciousness whereas the realm into which he plunges is feminine/unconscious? In what particular light should the feminine journey, the feminine initiation be regarded – as a dive into the masculine? This is another aspect of the question around the asymmetry between *animus* and *anima*.

3. Formalist and Structuralist Approaches

Myths and fairytales became central as a subject study with the Russian Formalist and Structuralist schools. Whereas the psychologists used oral narratives to illustrate their own particular theories, the linguistic theorists used oral narratives as material to develop and formulate theory.

A crucial turning point for the scholarship of both the classification and interpretation of fairytales occurred with the publication of Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*, a study that appeared in the USSR in 1928 but only made an impact upon western readers thirty years later, when it was translated from Russian. The *Morphology* arose from the need to undertake a 'correct classification' of the enormous corpus of fairytales collected throughout Europe. Although Propp acknowledged the value of Aarne's thematic index of tale types as a practical scheme of reference, he felt the need for a classification that took into account the structural features of the tales as the basis for a systematic study of the subject. Using a sequence of a hundred fairy-tales from the Russian Afanasiev collection as material Propp established the common denominators of the apparently disparate motifs in the stories as consisting of 31 elements that determined the tales' common underlying sequence – the 'functions'. The hope Propp expressed at the beginning of his book, that a new method of classification of fairytale types might emerge, was forgotten in the excitement of his discovery that 'all tales are of one type in regard to their structure' (Propp 1968: 24). They were all, in fact, transformations of the Dragon Slayer tale type.

Claude Lévi-Strauss contrasted Propp's formalism with his own structuralist approach (1977c). He supplements Propp's syntagmatic and allegedly abstract analysis by a paradigmatic analysis. As well as following the sequence of events in an horizontal axis, such an analysis also couples logically subjacent opposites in the narrative in order to determine the structure of events, revealing a grid of meaning below the surface. Lévi-Strauss explains this, in 'The Structural Study of Myth' (1977b), as analogous to the way the lines in an orchestral score can be read not only horizontally (as in the text of a book) but also down a vertical axis, synchronically. Such a structuralist reading should therefore provide an insight into the meaning of the narrative, something that Propp foregoes, in Lévi-Strauss's opinion, by abstracting form from content in order to establish the invariables of fairytales: Propp 'loses sight of the fact that no language exists in which the vocabulary can be deduced from the syntax' (Lévi-Strauss 1977b: 141). Meaning cannot be derived from a sequence of actions. In order to find it, Lévi-Strauss applies the Saussurean difference between 'signifier' and 'signified' and disengages coupled opposites from the layer of the signified, unveiling a 'metalanguage' of myth. The rules of that metalanguage can be studied and classified, he alleges, once its vocabulary – the interconnection between bundles of metalinguistic elements, the 'mythemes' – is established (Lévi-Strauss 1977c: 211). Lévi-Strauss envisages myth as a process of mediation between insoluble contradictions (in the last analysis, between life and death) which are partially resolved through metaphors that refract them into weaker oppositions.

In fact Propp and Lévi-Strauss are investigating different subjects and have different purposes. Propp is concerned with fairytales, Lévi-Strauss with myth. Lévi-Strauss considers fairytales as a less appropriate subject for his type of analysis because they 'are constructed on weaker oppositions then those found in myth' (1977b: 128). It is those oppositions that, on the paradigmatic level, he considers crucial to an investigation of the logic – the 'language' – of myth. Propp, on the other hand, is above all interested in the narrative line in order to find the common denominator for different fairytales.

Other structuralist writers attempted to simplify Propp's model and articulate it with Lévi-Strauss's method of analysis (Meletinsky 1974b). As a result there seem to be surprisingly few applications of Propp's original model for analytic purposes. In the course of studying the tale-types which are the focus of this book I considered myself fortunate to discover two such published analyses (Andrés Gutiérrez 1982; Rubow 1984). In fact a fairytale analysis according to Propp's model is an exercise with its own rewards. The rigidity of his model

sharpens one's awareness of the mechanics of the tale under scrutiny, and one becomes aware that alternative ways of applying the model have a bearing on alternative interpretations of the same tale.

Applications of Lévi-Strauss's method to fairytales are even rarer. Again I was fortunate enough to get access to an early unpublished work by the anthropologist João de Pina Cabral, a rigorously Lévi-Straussian interpretation of a Portuguese version of AT 313, which at the same time manages to be remarkably clear and enjoyable to read (Cabral 1977).

Among the structuralist successors to Propp, a simpler and more comprehensive model for the classification of fairytales was proposed by a group including Meletinsky which combined and re-arranged Propp's system of tale roles around the basic opposition between 'own-foreign' which 'shapes the relationship of the hero with his enemies' (Meletinsky et al. 1974: 90). This was then combined with a thematic classification to arrive at five main groups and five sub-groups that encompass the greater majority of the magic tales listed in the Aarne–Thompson Index.

But with the exception of a group that contains *Eros and Psyche* (AT 425A), heroine tales appear in Meletinsky's classification only under a sub-group that also includes children tales (in the group in which there is no explicit object of quest). Such a classification does not account for tales like AT 510 (Cinderella) – unless it is assumed that the heroine has no explicit object of quest when she goes to the prince's ball ... Tales like *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight* (AT 313) and *The Search for the Lost Husband* (AT 425) are bundled together into the same group, whereas a fine distinction is made between hero 'quest' and 'dragon slayer' tales. Even taking into account that the Aarne–Thompson Index shows that hero tale types are twice as numerous as heroine ones, Meletinsky's classification reveals a blind spot for feminine tales that seems to pervade research grafted on Propp – for whom the Dragon Slayer was the original form from which all others were transformations.

In her research to see which heroine tales fitted Propp's model Satu Apo discovered only a restricted number that did so (Apo 1989). The awareness that Propp's model only had a limited application to heroine tales led to a search for alternative models for tales like those of 'The Innocent Persecuted Maiden' (Dan 1977) and tales with active heroines (Jason 1984), but a consensus is still far from being reached. Among such initiatives one of the most recent and most ambitious was that of Stephen Swann Jones (1990) in which he undertook a structural and symbolic analysis of the allomotifs in *Snow White* (AT 709).

The concept of 'allomotif' had been developed by Alan Dundes

from Propp's concept of 'function', which Dundes had renamed 'motifeme'. His interest in the psychoanalytical interpretation of folktales – and the sceptical response those interpretations met – led him to seek some 'objective' method of ascertaining the meaning of symbolic motifs. He argued that 'allomotifs' – motifs occurring in the same slot in the narrative sequence in different versions of the same tale – 'are both functionally and symbolically equivalent' (Dundes 1982). If so, the meaning of any obscure or disputed symbolic motif could be checked against versions of the same tale in which it appeared more explicitly.

The idea behind the method is that a tale can best be understood and interpreted in the context of its variants, that is, of other tales with the same semantic structure. But the search for a systematic symbolic equivalence between allomotifs cannot be truly useful unless the meaning one needs is for classificatory purposes. Otherwise this tacit decoding of symbols would run counter to their *raison d'être*, which is expanding – not reducing – meaning. In fact, decodings of allomotifs do vary according to the preferences of the decoders. Dundes himself finds confirmation of fascinating data of a sexual nature in his pilot study of *The Rabbit Herd* (AT 570) (Dundes 1982). Holbek, who applied the method in his analysis of *King Lindorm* (AT 433B), brings out elements focussed on social interactions (Holbek 1987: 457–498).

4. Interpreting Structures

Holbek's personal approach to the interpretation of fairytales is based on a comprehensive and critical synthesis of previous methods (Holbek 1987: 187–403). He starts from the premises that fairytales express the opinions, feelings and value systems of the traditional narrators and their audiences, and that the 'marvellous' elements are used as symbols – i.e., affective impressions – of the narrators' own experience. In his desire to credit the traditional rural culture rather than high culture or literary tradition with the symbolic elements in fairytales, Holbek interprets them in the light of the social and psychological reality of the particular tellers whose tales he analyses. Once he finds that the structure and symbolic contents of fairytales are satisfactorily decoded in this light, he is content to discard interpretations he regards as superfluous to his purpose – such as interpretations that take into account the historical roots of the fairytale or appeal to universal mental structures. These he regards as not only conjectural but also alien to the experienced reality of the actual cultures in which the stories were told.

Within this perspective, Holbek devises a method of interpretation that articulates three types of approach:

Firstly, a syntagmatic analysis – inspired by Meletinsky's modification of Propp's sequence of functions – in which the action is divided into five basic 'moves'.

Then a paradigmatic analysis in which the actors are defined by their particular position on a series of axes – high/low; adult/young; male/female – which define a whole spectrum of conflicts encountered in the social reality of the narrators and their audiences.

Finally, in order to understand the 'lexicon' of fairytales, a decoding of the symbols – i.e., the marvellous elements – by finding how they are transformed from *affective impressions* into *symbolic expressions*. Here Holbek follows the rules of transformation as devised by Otto Rank to describe dream processes (Rank 1959) and developed in Max Lüthi's aesthetical analysis of fairytales (Lüthi 1976): dissociation, projection, etc. Symbols cannot be decoded in isolation, but must be analysed according to their position within the syntagmatic sequence and in light of paradigmatic oppositions.

For example, Holbek decodes the marvellous element of the dragon in 'dragon slayer' tales by noting that it appears in the same move in which the hero meets the princess (Move III). The fight with the dragon coincides with a love scene, i.e., by killing the dragon the hero conquers the princess's love. Therefore the dragon can be said to be the symbolic expression – by means of the rules of transformation – of the maiden's Oedipal attachment to her father. The dragon is a symbol of the maiden's father, a transformation achieved by means of a *split*, the mental process of dividing an emotionally charged reality into two opposite images.

Although Holbek is fully aware that the dragon is a polyvalent symbol, he is satisfied that this interpretation is sufficient to explain its use by the Danish peasant, having in mind the existential problems of his – and his community's – particular reality. The narrator uses the inherited symbolic material like a language to serve his/her own particular purposes, and it is those purposes that Holbek is interested in. He dismisses the unconscious and the historical dimensions of such symbols as conjectural and irrelevant. Confined to his objectives with regard to interpretation, his analyses are remarkably consistent and convincing.

Holbek does not see the need to consider binary oppositions such as marvellous/real, because, for him, there is no significant transition between 'our world' and 'theirs' in the structure of fairytales. The marvellous elements of fairytales are simply a symbolic device whose function is that of veiling realities otherwise difficult to express in

explicit terms, realities reflecting the conflicts along the three axes that he established for his analysis: 'all [marvellous] elements refer to features of the real world as experienced by the members of the story-telling communities'. (Holbek 1987: 409.) As for the symbolic language of fairytales, this is no more than a 'language', an adequate tool for the carving of a tale along accepted cleavages, a grammar which Holbek deems worth enquiring into only if it is roughly within the awareness of the narrators themselves.

Unlike Holbek, my focus will be on the 'language' of the inherited symbolism of fairytales. In this I am following a tradition which I believe has been unjustly neglected, and whose value I consider to be self-evident.

But each different purpose or interest will inevitably lead to a different type of research and to different conclusions with regard to interpretation. Lévi-Strauss's interest, for instance, lies in the logic of the laws governing the human mind. Although he pays full attention to the anthropological context of the stories he analyses, his aim is to arrive at a universal equation, a key for the interpretation of all myths. For him, interpreting is discovering a logic that can be applied to multiple and permutable codes – the sexual code, the culinary code, the astronomic code, the social code – each of them valid, none of them final. He is concerned with 'the system of axioms and postulates defining the best possible code, capable of conferring a common significance on unconscious formulations which are the works of minds, societies, and civilizations chosen from among those most remote from each other'. (Lévi-Strauss 1970: 12.)

No analysis is all-encompassing and different approaches, serving different purposes can only enrich a subject that should be left open as virtually inexhaustible.

5. The Patterns of Cultural Origins

The theory of the anthropologist Chris Knight (1991a) on the origins of culture provides a fascinating approach to the logic governing the symbolic structure of fairytales. Knight's model was inspired by and developed in opposition to Lévi-Strauss's conceptual framework. Knight follows Lévi-Strauss in distinguishing between the 'syntax' of a myth or fairytale and its symbolism or 'meaning'. Whereas meanings are variable, at the syntactical level all myths echo an ancient rhythm which is time-resistant and identical the world over. Like Lévi-Strauss, Knight traces this invariant dimension of mythology back to a starting-point in the paleolithic era – ultimately to the postulated origin of

human symbolic culture as such. He draws on primatological and anthropological data to deduce the original nature of the human cultural system, and, in contrast to Lévi-Strauss, arrives at the conclusion that culture was in essence created by women. Knight argues that collective female sexual 'strike action' was central to the establishment of menstrual taboos, ritual action and the human symbolic domain as such.

In proto-human societies, females, being relatively immobilized by their child-nurturing activities, in order to have access to hunted meat, needed to ensure that males both periodically hunted *and* brought their catch back to a home base. By synchronizing their menstrual bleeding with the dark phase of the moon, they invented an artifical, symbolic construction that equated the moon's darkness with a period of sexual negativity (aimed at driving men away to hunt), and the moon's fullness with a period of heterosexual relations and feasting (after the meat had been brought back and cooked). During the dark phase of the lunar month women were sexually tabooed to men by reason of their bleeding, in exactly the same way that game animals were alimentarily tabooed to their male hunters by reason of their 'raw' and bloody state. With the advent of the light phase of the lunar month, when women, hunters and game animals had been purified from their polluting contact with blood by rituals of washing and cooking, 'normal' social relationships could be resumed.

This model drastically challenges the conventional assumption that the 'nuclear family' was central to the social life of original human society. It posits, instead, the dynamic configuration of two radically different 'worlds', alternating in lunar sequence. One 'world', ruled by the dark moon, was a domain of blood kinship ties, in which women were perceived as magic, hostile to 'husbands', sexually unavailable, 'invisible' and 'dead'. This was a phase of estrangement between the sexes, leading to the hunting of game animals. The successful outcome of that hunting led to a switch, a movement into another 'world', ruled by the full moon. This second domain was a domain of exogamous bonds, of feasting and fire, which, as the meat from the hunt was consumed, and the fullness of the moon itself diminished, would dissolve in turn back to the opposite phase again. The binary oppositions which, for Lévi-Strauss, are mental imprints with no relation to an outside reality, now become the outcome of a socio-economic reality that shaped consciousness and culture and pervades all forms of symbolic thought.

Knight's model shifts the emphasis from a basic cleavage of binary systems along gender divisions, to a cleavage corresponding to two phases of the female sexual cycle, each assigned to both masculine and feminine categories:

Dark Moon	Full Moon
Blood	Semen
Raw	Cooked
Wet	Dry
Water	Fire
Blood-kinship	Exogamous bonds
Abstinence	Feasting
Ritual	Celebration
Menstruation	Ovulation

These pairs of opposites are not characterized by a gender differentiation. Each column embraces both genders, only in a different relational situation. The dark moon corresponds to a phase of sexual disjunction and ruptured marital bonds. The full moon corresponds to a phase of conjunction, in which the sexes embrace. The implications are enormous.

The difficulty raised by Hélène Cixous (1988), that logical thinking is vitiated from the start by gender discrimination, ceases to be a problem. Instead of ultimately originating in the couple male/female with its positive/negative connotations, the binary oppositions arise from alternate situations of coupling and uncoupling. The divisions cease to be between man and woman, but between *togetherness* and *separateness*. The outcome of this shift in primal logical pairs has the advantage of positing a conceptual world free from the marginalization of woman. It answers the hopes raised by Cixous, when she dreams of a discourse beyond binary oppositions: 'That which appears as 'feminine' or 'masculine' today would no longer amount to the same thing. The general logic of difference would no longer fit into the opposition that still dominates. The difference would be a crowning display of new differences.' (Cixous 1988: 292.)

In order to understand how woman came later to be branded with the negative pole of binary oppositions, the classical Oedipal interpretation can easily be articulated with this new anthropological template. Once separated, differentiated from the mother – or once driven away from the company of women for a period of time – man would resentfully assign to the feminine his life when bereft of woman. Invested as a saint or a devil, woman would always be the one on the other side for man, the one beyond, the 'other'.

This new interpretation lends itself easily to the initiatory model that so many scholars – notably Propp and Eliade – perceived in the plot of myths and fairytales. The dark-moon phase of bloodkin solidarity, of sex and meat abstinence, can be regarded as a necessary preparation that makes possible the phase of feasting and sexual con-

junction, just as initiation primes the neophyte for adulthood or marriage; just as, in fairytales, states of enchantment precede and alternate with states of disenchantment. This same pendular movement which also grounds the basic cyclicity of cosmic life, finds an avatar in the cyclicity of woman attuned with the moon, regulating the rhythm and shape of the first human social patterns.

We saw earlier how Holbek chose to decode the Dragon in tales of the *Dragon Slayer*. In the syntax offered by Knight's model, the Dragon that lives on women's blood and that the hero has to kill so as to have access to the maiden, is a paradigmatic code-term for the phase of menstrual withdrawal that keeps women with their kin temporarily unavailable to their male sexual partners. Without contradicting 'meanings' such as Holbek's (for whom the Dragon is an affective impression of a kinship bond with the father), this decoding probes deep into the structure of a narrative that is hinged on a polarity of disjunction and conjunction, between a space/time of blood and enchantment, and one of ovularity and disenchantment. In this sense, Propp's claim that the *Dragon Slayer* tale type provides the blueprint of all fairytales receives support from an unexpected quarter.

The historical collapse of the prehistoric cultural structures hypothesized by Knight, with the decline of big-game hunting economies and the rise of horticulture and agriculture hunting, would have led to a shift from a continual alternation between sexual modes into a focus on one mode alone, that of the exogamous couple in which it was the male who was empowered. This would explain the symbolic dominance of the one sphere of thought over the other. Fairytales show this shift in symbolic power as they consistently end with a happily married couple. This can certainly be seen as a 'male' view, insofar as it values one side of the female cycle alone – the 'ovular', fertile, and male-responsive aspect of woman. The 'menstrual' phase is labelled as negative and alien. But it is also powerfully magical, and corresponds to the sphere of enchantment in which the adventure in fairytales takes place.

The anthropological validity of Knight's model is of course not within the scope of this work. I shall use it heuristically, as a 'tale good to think with', a tool with which to probe binary oppositions that are no longer simply those of gender.

BIBLIOTECA VIRGILIANA

Ch. 3. METHOD, APPROACH AND PURPOSE

1. General Approach

The starting point for each of the tales to be studied is the text of a Portuguese fairytale recorded from oral tradition. As a rule, the analysis follows the path offered by the key text, referring to variants as the occasion arises. I shall make use of all the Portuguese versions available to me, which, in turn, I shall consider in the wider light of examples found elsewhere in Europe. Once fully familiar with the plot I can then engage in a discussion of the tale's symbolic structure.

In order to come to an understanding of the tale, I shall use tools from several fields of research, particularly those of textual and comparative analysis, but also from psychology and cultural anthropology.

Through a comprehensive study of four Portuguese fairytales in the light of their variants, I shall attempt to disengage the nature of male and female voices in these particular oral narratives.

I intend to explore the dream without the dreamer. I am interested in the universality of the symbols as they appear crystallized in the tales, rather than in the way they serve a given social reality.

My interpretation of fairytales focuses on general aspects of gender issues rather than the particular background of the Portuguese texts. As such it runs the risk of fighting on two fronts: firstly, the reluctance of modern folklore research to envisage a text in terms of its universal symbolism; secondly, the hostility of modern anthropology towards cross-cultural comparisons between widely separated societies in the attempt to explain apparently similar phenomena.

Fairytales, however do not respect borders. They are recognizably similar throughout Europe, Asia and North-Africa. I may occasionally illustrate the texts with Portuguese beliefs and customs but not under the assumption that there is any simple cause and effect relation between the two. On the other hand, there is a basic similarity that runs across the diversity of cultures and baffles anthropologists on account of its universality: the perception of man's superiority over

woman (Ortner 1974). My approach to fairytales rests on the fact that I shall be dealing with two recognized 'universals', the first a transcultural form of oral narrative – the fairytale, the second a mental attitude – the human perception of gender status.

Fairytales have an inherited symbolic language which is organized in a particular syntax, common to them all. I am interested in understanding this symbolic language insofar as it brings out the two voices that were no doubt active in its shaping. My attention will be tuned to hear the weaker voice of the two and to 'deconstruct' the weapons of the stronger one.

I shall envisage the fairytales' characteristic swing from states of enchantment to states of disenchantment as a syntax for phases of disjunction and conjunction between the sexes. This syntax suggests an enlightening alternative to more obvious oppositions such as those between good and evil or male and female.

Analysis will show that feminine tales are more distanced from myths than typical hero tales, as the latter more openly condone the charters of male dominance over female 'otherness'. It will also present the grid of female initiatory rites of passage that moulds the structure of feminine tales.

2. The Texts

The reference texts in this study have all been taken from Ataíde Oliveira's collection *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*. My reasons for using this collection require a few words of explanation.

Portugal possesses a wealth of folktale texts that bears comparison with that of any other European country. That these stories are so little known to the outside world and so little referred to in international studies is the result of a continuing failure to archive, catalogue and publicize the available material. When the first volume of the collection of folktales in the possession of the pre-eminent Portuguese ethnographer, Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941), was finally published posthumously in 1963, his editors still felt unable to offer a classification of the stories according to the Aarne–Thompson system – a standard for European folktale research since 1928, and by now in its second, revised edition (Aarne & Thompson 1961). Astonishingly, this failure was repeated over 20 years later, when the same editors came to organize the publication of an equally large collection of Portuguese folktales (Soromenho & Soromenho 1984–1986), stories recorded by a variety of modern collectors, usually with exemplary ethnographic professionalism. This is not a matter for individual criticism: the

failures reflect a parochialism which paralysed wide areas of Portuguese culture for much of the 20th century, and particularly anthropology and ethnography (Cabral 1991: 11–41).

Yet, when the first national collections of folktales had appeared in the late 19th century, their editors had all been well aware of the international dimension of folktale studies, and keen to imitate the best contemporary research standards. The works of Coelho (1879), Braga (1883) and Pedroso (1910) all demonstrate the desire of their authors to accurately record the voice of the Portuguese folk, to locate its stories within the European oral narrative tradition, to scrupulously preserve a record of what they perceived as a national heritage in imminent danger of disappearance, and to publicize that inheritance both within Portugal itself and the world outside. In fact the first, partial, publication of Pedroso's collection occurred as an English translation published by the Folk-Lore Society of London in 1882.

These national collections both derived from, and further stimulated, an awareness of and interest in the recording of local and regional folktale traditions within Portugal, which led to the publication of important collections by Alexandrino (1899–1901), Pires (1902–1904) and Barbosa (1912–1920), among many others. But the outstanding provincial collection of that period – or since – was the one made by Ataíde Oliveira.

First published in two volumes in 1900 and 1905, Oliveira's *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve* contains 440 folk tales collected in Portugal's most southern province, the Algarve. In sheer magnitude, it far outstripped all its contemporary rivals – the corresponding figures are Coelho 75 tales, Braga 125, Pedroso 61, Alexandrino 15, Pires 69, Barbosa 36 – and indeed any other collection until the appearance of that of Vasconcelos (which numbers 674 items, a figure inflated not only by the inclusion of a substantial number of tales collected by Ana de Castro Osório – a collector deserving recognition in her own right – but also by a certain amount of trivial and at times wholly extraneous material).

That Oliveira's collection, compared to those of his contemporaries, has been treated with a certain amount of reserve in Portugal perhaps derives from an academic bias towards philological studies. In her preface to the second edition of *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*, M. L. Machado de Sousa writes: 'Just as he did in his collection of ballads, Ataíde Oliveira will have retouched the stories he selected, including "reconstituting" what he considered to be the original [stories] from a comparison of the variants, the kind of work that results in so-called *factitious versions*' (Oliveira n.d., I: 9).

There can be little doubt that Oliveira, like the Grimms, retouched

the stories he collected. We can even compare different versions of the same stories as they were published by him in the folklore journal *A Tradição* and then in *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*. Such a comparison immediately reveals that neither of the texts has any claim to be considered more authentic and original than the other, they have both obviously passed through the filter of some educated editor or editors. But whether the versions are 'factitious' conglomerates is as yet an unproved assertion. As Machado de Sousa herself notes: 'The *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve* are an enormous repository of precious material, but one which has still to be properly organized and studied' (in ibid.: 8).

In fact one of the valuable features of Oliveira's volumes is precisely that they offer different versions of the same tale types. For example in his second volume he publishes two versions of the same tale type (AT 480 + 510A) one after the other, 'O Conto de Amelita' (Oliveira n.d., II: 62–65) from the village of Vaqueiros and 'A Bezerrinha' (ibid.: 65–68) from the village of Giões, less than 10 kms away as the crow flies. The only differences between the stories lie in details of character, plot and motif – fascinating information for anyone interested in oral tradition, but for the ordinary reader to all intents and purposes a repetition of the same story.

And what Oliveira may lack in linguistic accuracy, he compensates for in other ways. He does not have the erudition of Coelho, Pedroso and Braga, but his very lack of pretention perhaps freed him from certain contemporary academic taboos. He includes several stories which Braga, for instance, for all his evident ambition to provide a comprehensive sample of Portuguese folktale types, would probably have expurgated. And whereas Braga's versions often read like summaries of stories rather than actual narratives, Oliveira's work reads like a celebration of the art of storytelling. Not only does he give us the full variant whenever a story occurs in another version distinctive enough to capture his interest, he also publishes the opening and closing formulas with which actual narrators would preface and conclude their stories, information often lacking in the works of his more scholarly contemporaries, whose interest was in 'the tale' rather than the storytelling performance. Oliveira's editorial interference always seems to be a generous one, in celebration, not censorship, providing us with a fascinating insight into the breadth of the late 19th century narrative tradition in the Algarve.

Whenever I came to select a reference text for the discussion of a particular tale type, I always found that a version – *one* of the versions – in Oliveira's collection provided the most comprehensive and interesting example available to me. And in any case, for the purpose

of comparative symbolic and plot analysis it suffices that one text can be compared with others. My approach will take into account enough variants to allow that any interpretation I offer of 'the tale' can always be checked against elements to be found in different versions. The actual number of versions available for each tale from other Portuguese collections allows for a comprehensive analysis that is, however, not overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers.

Each analysis is preceded by a translation of the Portuguese reference text. A synoptic comparison with other Portuguese (or Portuguese influenced) versions of the tale will be found in the Appendices at the end of the volume. There is no synoptic comparison for the text of 'The Little Snake' simply because no close variants were found (inside or outside Portugal).

3. Masculine and Feminine Voices

I have referred earlier to surveys on male and female narrators. Some folklorists argue that, because fairytales reflect the voices of the narrators as individuals they should be studied taking this factor into account (cf. Taggart 1990). However, this type of enquiry seems to have little bearing on the texts I have selected. Ataíde Oliveira makes only a general statement about his sources: 'In my investigations my only collaborators were old women' (Oliveira n.d., I: 25). But his stories clearly reveal a well defined male discourse in the case of hero tales.

The biological gender of the actual narrator matters less for my own enquiry than the 'genders' that shaped the tale and bring out the voices that most broadly divide humankind in two halves. My enquiry is therefore into an aspect of fairytales that is both inescapably real and inescapably universal, the most explicity common denominator of all fairytales: they all aim at the happy marriage between a man and a woman.

Are both voices balanced and harmonious? Do they express the same or different worldviews? If the worldview is the same, whose voice is dominant? Whose is the symbolic power? Does the cleavage between hero and heroine tales coincide with the predominance given to a masculine and a feminine voice? Does the female narrator express a female worldview? Is it possible to define a male and a female worldview from the context of the tales? Is there a conflict between the voices taking shape through the main protagonists? How is this conflict resolved? Does it correspond to a reconciliation between the voices? If tales give different answers to these questions, is it possible to formulate a coherent picture from them?

4. The Three Bloods of Woman

In his analysis of the pattern underlying the tale of *Snow White*, Steven Swann Jones (1990) demonstrates that tales of 'The Innocent Persecuted Maiden' cycle are structured upon three basic stages of female development: puberty, marriage and childbirth. In my view the common denominator that iconically underlies these three major crises, which are also the three stages of a progressive initiation, is the shedding of female blood. The three bloods – those of menstruation, defloration and childbirth – pervade not only the plots of feminine fairytales but can also be seen to provide the organizing structure of hero adventures such as that of 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' (AT 516).

The blood of menstruation often surfaces in symbolic imagery. But, as a signal of female periodicity it marks the heroine's adventure, her submission to the rules of time, her knowledge of the rhythms of 'rags' and 'riches'. It comes to determine the syntax of fairytales in their alternation from modes of enchantment to non-enchantment.

There is an intense ambivalence surrounding these 'three bloods', as they may appear both as a curse and as a source of wonders. This ambivalence can be understood in several ways:

Firstly, the immediate association between blood and death is emphatically contradicted by the fact that in these cases it is the blood of fertility (or potential fertility).

Secondly, the bloods of menstruation and childbirth appear to be the magic of woman alone, accomplished outside the male sphere, and may, therefore, be profoundly resented by man. In *Symbolic Wounds*, Bruno Bettelheim (1955) interprets masculine initiation rituals as expressions of male envy of female life-giving potency which is enacted through these sheddings of blood.

It is therefore unsurprising that in typical hero tales the assertion of phallic power is focussed, precisely, on the shedding of blood that is caused by male intervention: that of defloration – the 'killing of the dragon', with the soiled 'handkerchief' of the princess to prove it. But it is glorious because it is dangerous. Marriage and defloration, often depicted as two identical events, should not be superimposed. In tales of the *Dragon Slayer* type, for instance, I agree with Holbek that the encounter with the dragon after the hero first meets the maiden can easily be decoded as defloration, whereas the final wedding of hero and maiden is connected with the social recognition of a union between man and woman (Holbek 1987: 424–428).

Childbirth should be the obvious crowning glory of female fertility. It is so in 'The Little Snake', the feminine tale we shall study later, but

this is a rare example. Sometimes it finds its way into the initial situation, in both hero and heroine tales, as a 'lack' ('There were a king and queen who lived in great sadness because they had no children' – the familiar opening lines of 'Monster Bridegroom' tales) which, once corrected (the child is born under some ominous circumstances), sets the plot in motion. Childbirth is often marked as a crisis that entails degradation or rejection, before the happy-ending. Yet the 'beauty' of fairytale heroines is a transparent code for their fertility potential!

Fairytale heroes appropriate for themselves this same potential in terms of heroic or sacrificial shedding of blood. The ideology underlying these tales is very close to that which Combs-Schilling finds in Moroccan Muslim rituals. These rituals emphatically exclude women from the realm of the sacred, and yet the templates of sacrifice are modelled, precisely, on defloration and childbirth. Combs-Schilling defines the bloodshed of sacrifice as 'an active attempt at intercourse with the sacred' and concludes that 'myth and ritual "verify" that man gives birth to what is durable without the presence of women'. (Combs-Schilling 1989: 243, 256.)

The explosive ambivalence surrounding both defloration and childbirth in fairytales is connected, in my view, with the conflict between two incompatible states: that of blood and that of marital conjunction.

5. The Biological Ground of Male and Female Adventures

It has been argued that, whereas with feminine tales the plot is determined by the female procreative functions – that woman is bound by her biology and never rises above it –, with hero tales the male biological ground becomes cultural. The 'quest' is an extension and transformation of the phallic drive, with an equivalent extension and transformation of the female body as the 'landscape' of the heroic quest. Symbolically, woman becomes the embodiment of the ground of conquest, 'another', Jung's *anima*. Maleness would, therefore, be the subject and femaleness the realm of 'the other', the unknown to be explored, tamed, redeemed and conquered. However, it is now widely accepted that the symbolism of *both* male and female adventures is grounded on biological functions. 'For Durkheim', says Victor Turner, 'the human organism and its crucial experiences are the fons et origo of all classifications' (Turner 1974: 90).

In the course of my analysis I shall explore the cultural value of the female adventure. How does the transformation of the biological into the symbolic take place in the heroine adventure? Does it simply con-

fine her to the realm of the domestic? Bernadette Bricourt, arguing against Meletinsky that the fairytale as well as myth has a cosmic resonance, phrases the question in a way that serves as a provisional answer: 'Lorsque la jeune femme partie à la recherche de l'époux disparu (Type 425) interroge le vent, la lune, les étoiles après avoir rempli un vase de ses larmes (...) dira-t-on que les manques ne sont pas cosmiques et que la mise en mots du conte ne s'attache pas à faire entendre les voix de l'univers?' (Bricourt 1988.)

How does woman engender and shape 'culture' in terms that are her own? I have argued elsewhere (Cardigos 1988) that, at a deeper level, it is female biology that constrains the syntax of fairytales, for both hero and heroine adventures. At a surface level, the 'quest' aiming at a final resolution with a happy ending and set on the space of a female landscape, may bear the imprint of male biology. But the alternation between modes of enchantment and disenchantment that inform the symbolic structure of fairytales belongs to the rhythms of female biology, to the sphere of time. It is a syntax that surfaces in binary oppositions no longer determined by the paradigmatic couple *male/female* so dreaded by Hélène Cixous and other feminists.

Knight's reinterpretation of Lévi-Strauss's system of binary oppositions provided the model for such a syntax of pendular alternations between periods of separation and togetherness, ruled by the female cycle. If transferred to the structure of fairytales, these alternations are successfully translated into the alternations between enchantment and disenchantment that govern the dynamics of the genre. Triggered by an entirely different set of oppositions, this syntax points to a way in which 'all the stories would have to be told differently' (Cixous 1988: 289).

Rather than mapping the hero's adventure on 'male' reality and 'female' landscape – 'this world' and 'the other world' – I shall place it on a temporal sequence of the female cycle – ovular and menstrual or, in other words, of conjunction and disjunction – two polar opposites that form a whole. These polar opposites connect, therefore, blood with disjunction and absence of blood with conjunction. They circumscribe the hero's space with his incursions into the realm of magic and his returns to normality. They also circunscribe the heroine's time-bound moves from misery to glory, from rags to riches, from seclusion to marriage. In the light of the above it should now make sense that when, with defloration and childbirth, conjunction clashes with blood, fairytales tend to charge these events with such tremendous resonance.

5.1. *The Female Mediator*

By virtue of her biological periodicity, woman is often symbolically cast as mediator; for she travels with the moon, shuttling back and forth between life and death. In doing this, she appears to solve a conflict that extends to all realms of human experience. Lévi-Strauss views this cosmic dimension of woman as 'a fundamental category, that of periodicity, which modulates human existence by assigning it a certain duration, and by establishing, within this duration, the major physiological rhythms which have their seat in the female organism' (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 506).

Mediatrix is one of the most cherished designations of the Virgin Mary, 'Dame du ciel, regente terrienne / Emperiere des infernaux palus' ('Lady of Heaven, Regent of earth, / Empress of the infernal marshes') (Villon 1960: 68–69). The Shekinah of the Kaballah also acts as a mediator, linking heaven and earth. In fairytales she becomes far more than the vehicle of mediation, Lévi-Strauss's 'item of exchange' which deters the primal conflict between men. Moving from rags to riches, becoming the active agent who transforms a snake into a princess, being the devil's daughter and also 'Brancaflor', 'white flower', it is woman who, inextricably linked to the dragon, may appear as the source of conflict but is also at the heart of its resolution.

6. Guidelines for Analysis

With these questions in mind, the feedback from preliminary study and analysis of the texts led me to formulate the following hypotheses, which were then tested and used as guidelines for further analysis:

1. In heroine tales the feminine was envisaged in terms of a female subject of a discourse, rather than as the *anima* of a male discourse.

1a. This viewpoint could allow for the development and refinement of the concept of *animus* within the scope of the feminine imaginary.

2. Fairytales were envisaged as an oscillation between conditions of enchantment and disenchantment, a structural characteristic of the genre with the following implication:

2a. Enchantment and disenchantment should be contrasted not upon a feminine/masculine axis, but upon one of disjunction/conjunction. This new perspective should profoundly alter the understanding of the tales.

3. The heroine's particular adequacy for a mediatory role was considered. Bridging nature and culture, she is likely to bridge a series of other oppositions, including that of disjunction and conjunction.

4. Heroine fairytales were also examined as verbal ritualizations of the feminine stages of biological unfoldment – woman's three bloods of menstruation, defloration and childbirth:

4a. In their initiatory dimension and cosmic projection these were found to have a bearing on the structure of some heroic tales.

I have explored elsewhere the masculine and feminine adventures as unfolding in the spheres of space and time (Cardigos 1988, 1991). The hero's adventure was seen as a journey mastering space – with a departure, a conquest and a return. As for the heroine, her adventure was seen as unfolding through time, in the submission to its rules and the wisdom of its rhythms. This perspective will reappear in the conclusion of this work as an organizing theme.

7. The Tales

I shall begin my exploration into the world of fairytales by analysing two types of hero tales, 'The Beast With Seven Heads' (AT 303) and 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' (AT 516).

'The Beast With Seven Heads' is one of the most widespread European folktales, a tale of twin heroes with strong mythical elements which includes, as one of its episodes, the story of 'The Dragon-Slayer' – considered by Propp as the archetypal hero tale.

'The Prince Turned Into Stone' (AT 516) is a tale whose theme was already widespread in the Middle Ages in the many versions of 'Amicus and Amelius'. Male heroism is here exhalted in its more refined, moral aspects of fidelity and devotion. It was chosen because it provides a strikingly symmetrical contrast for a feminine tale, the next to be analysed.

As an example of a heroine tale, I chose to analyse 'The Little Snake' (AT 533*?), not because it is 'representative' – on the contrary it is precious in its uniqueness. It is the story of a girl who befriends a snake which then plays a crucial role in the succeeding stages of her development. From another perspective, it is just as much the story of an enchanted princess who secures her own disenchantment by means of her alliance with the girl. Female potency – the snake who turns out to be a princess – is shown to be rooted in woman's biology, in her 'three bloods'. It is unusual to find such an outspoken assertion of the female biological potential for adventure in fairytales. I shall then analyse the structural symmetry between 'The Little Snake' and 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' and confront the two opposite discourses as revealing the 'inside' and 'outside' stories of the same situations.

Finally, with 'Brancaflor or The Devil's Daughter' (AT 313), I ana-

lyse a mixed tale, a story with which both male and female narrators and audiences can identify. It begins as a hero tale, in which the heroine is first seen from a male perspective as an 'other' – a magic woman. It then gradually becomes a heroine tale in which female potency is unashamedly accepted and spelled out. The hero performs his feat of mastering space by going to the other world and returning, but he then forgets the lesson of his adventure. It is the heroine's task to make him remember. He brings her to a different space, she gives him the dimension of time. It is a tale that points to the possibility of an equality between the two voices.

The four tales chosen cover a wide spectrum that respects the ratio of feminine to masculine tales in the Aarne–Thompson Index. Each analysis was an adventure, in the sense that it followed its own unpredictable course. In each tale I was provided with different riches, particular insights, new surprises, and I wonder if this would have been so had I followed a strict method, applying the same grid to all the tales. The tales were examined, not to serve theories; but rather the reverse – the different approaches were used in order to better 'serve' – to understand – the tales.

Each tale, with its variants or related tales, is considered in a self-contained, comprehensive study. My objectives will then appear as the link connecting the different analyses into a consistent line of thought. It follows, admittedly, that my avowed concerns for finding the voice of women, blood symbolism, or a structure of enchantment/disenchantment may appear diluted in a survey that led me to touch on so many other areas. If I did not impoverish the magic of the tale when reread, the effort will have been worthwhile.

Part II

THE TALES

Ch. 4. THE BEAST WITH SEVEN HEADS

1. Reference Text

'The Beast With Seven Heads'

There was a very poor fisherman who went to the sea everyday and never caught anything except the odd sardine or sprat. One day he cast his nets and caught an enormous fish.

"Do not kill me and I will give you lots of fish," the big fish told him.

The fisherman threw the fish back into the sea and went to fish in another place, where he then caught small fish in abundance. He went home and told his wife what had happened.

"I would rather have eaten fish steak. I am sick of eating small fish. If you loved your wife you wouldn't have been so concerned about the fish," his wife told him bitterly.

A few days later, the fisherman went back to the sea and he caught the big fish again.

"Do not kill me and I will give you lots of fish," it told him.

"My wife was upset because I did not bring you last time. She is craving to eat some fish steak, so I'm afraid..."

"Very well, kill me and cut me up into eight steaks. Give two to your mare, two to your bitch, two to your wife and bury two in the manure heap in your garden."

The fisherman did as the fish had told him and his mare gave birth to two stallions, his bitch to two lions, his wife to two sons, and the manure heap to two scimitars.

When the sons reached manhood they asked their father's permission to set out and travel the world. Their father gave his permission, and he gave each of them a horse, a lion and a scimitar.

They left home and when they had travelled a long way they came across a rosebush with two beautiful roses. They each plucked one and agreed that if either rose should wither, it would mean that the other brother was in great danger.

Following this agreement they each set off in different directions.

One brother came to a city where everyone appeared very sad. He asked the reason for this, and learned that a beast with seven heads used to kill a maiden every day, and that on that day the lot had fallen to the princess. He was told that she had already been taken to the place where she would be devoured by the monster.

"And whereabouts is that place?"

"Beyond that hill to the east of the city."

The youth set off for the place that had been indicated, and there he found the princess, weeping.

"Do not weep, my lady, for I mean to save you", he cried.

The youth waited there. Shortly afterwards he heard the slithering of the monster as it crawled towards them with open jaws. The youth cried:

"Forward, my lion!"

His lion charged at the wild beast, the youth came to his aid with his scimitar and his horse, and they killed the beast. Then the youth asked the princess for a handkerchief and he put the serpent's seven tongues in it. He took the princess on his horse to the entrance to the city, and then he, his horse and his lion disappeared.

There were great celebrations and the king announced that he would give his daughter in marriage to the man who had saved her life. A black man heard the announcement and ran to the place where the dead serpent lay. He cut off its seven heads and presented himself to ask for the princess's hand. The wedding was immediately arranged. The princess had become mute ever since the moment the youth had killed the serpent.

Three days before the princess's wedding there were three royal banquets. The youth, who had decided to stay at an inn opposite the palace, then said to his lion:

"Go to the king's banqueting hall and snatch the black man's plate away from him."

The lion did so. Everyone was astounded, and the princess burst out laughing when she saw the lion.

The following day the youth told the lion:

"Go to the king's banqueting hall and slap the black man's face."

The lion carried out the order. Everyone was amazed at the lion's impudence, but the princess burst out laughing.

The king ordered the lion to be followed and he soon learned where it had gone to. He ordered the youth to be sent for, and he presented himself.

"Your animal insulted a person who saved my daughter's life", the king told him angrily.

"He did not save her. I did."

The black man said:

"The proof that it was I who saved her is that I have the seven heads of the beast."

"Show me them", the youth said.

The heads were immediately produced. The youth examined them and laughed.

"What are you laughing about?" the king asked him.

"There are no tongues in them, because I kept them, here."

The youth showed the tongues inside the princess's handkerchief and she began to speak straightaway, saying that it had been the youth who had been her saviour. The black man was put to death, and the youth married the princess.

That night the youth went over to the window and saw a tower in the distance.

"What tower is that?"

"That is the Tower of the Evil Hour. Whoever goes there doesn't return."

The next day the youth, mounted on his horse and accompanied by his lion, and with his scimitar in his hand, went to the tower.

A little old woman appeared there and challenged him to a fight, on condition that he tied up the lion with one of her hairs. In the fight the youth was killed.

At that very moment, his brother, who was in another place, noticed that his rose had withered. He set off at a gallop and came to the princess's palace. She told him to come in, thinking that he was her husband, because the two brothers looked very much alike. At night the youth entered the queen's bedroom and went over to the window.

"What tower is that?"

"You are very forgetful, I already told you yesterday. It is the Tower of the Evil Hour."

The youth then realized where his brother was. He went to bed with the queen, but he laid his scimitar between them, which greatly upset the princess.

The next day he went to the Tower of the Evil Hour. The little old woman appeared and challenged him to a fight, on condition that he tied up his lion with a hair from her head. The boy took the hair and pretended to tie up the lion. The fight began and the youth found himself losing.

"Forward, my lion", the youth cried.

"Thicken yourself, my hair", the old woman replied.

The lion was not tied up and it charged at the old woman and knocked her to the ground.

"Forgive me!" the old woman cried.

"Show me my brother, his horse and his lion", he said.

She took a flask of oil from her pocket and went into a room, followed by the youth and his lion. There he saw his dead brother. The old woman anointed his brother with the oil and he came back to life again.

They went outside and there in the courtyard in front of the tower he told his brother how he had learned where he was. Then the married brother, thinking that the other had taken advantage of his wife, wounded him mortally. The brother fell, saying:

"Alas, brother, you have killed me! My scimitar lay between your wife and me."

The fratricide, seeing that he had killed his innocent brother, put him on his shoulders and went back to the old woman and asked her to give him the holy oil. She didn't want to. Then he said:

"Forward, my lions."

The lions tore the old woman to shreds: they killed her. The youth searched the old woman's pockets and found the flask of oil. He took it out and anointed his brother who immediately came back to life again. Then they both went into the tower, where they found many dead people. They anointed them all with the oil and they all came back to life, thanking the brothers for restoring their lives to them. The two brothers made their way back to the palace, and always lived together thereafter. The kingdom flourished greatly, because of the immense riches they had found in the tower of the Evil Hour.

They were all very happy. I went there and they gave me nothing.

'A Bicha de Sete Cabeças', from F. X. Ataíde de Oliveira, *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*, n.d., I: 157–159 [no. 57 in the 1900 edition, from Loulé, Algarve].

2. *The Twins or Blood-Brothers* (AT 303)

'The Beast With Seven Heads' is a classic Romance version of the tale type *The Twins or Blood-Brothers*, AT 303, which was the subject of a famous monograph by Kurt Ranke, *Die Zwei Brüder* (1934), one of the best-known examples of the Historic-Geographic method of folktale analysis. Ranke surveyed about 700 versions of the story and concluded that the tale in its full form had originated in France. Reconsidering his analysis many years later, when more than 500 further versions of the story had become available, Ranke acknowledged, in his article on tale type in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Ranke 1979), that the new

data and later scholarship necessitated corrections to his argument. In his original study Ranke only took into account five Portuguese versions of the tale. In the present analysis I will make use of 16 Portuguese versions, referring also to 3 versions influenced by Portuguese culture – from Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique (originally recorded in Creole, Mbaki and Sena respectively). Full details of all these versions are given in Appendix 1, along with a synoptic comparison of the tales.

The tale type of *The Twins or Blood-Brothers* is basically composed of four parts. First there is a prologue which explains the birth of the two brothers – the hero and his twin. The prologue in most of the Portuguese versions is in accordance with what Ranke calls the Romance cycle, adopted in most French and Hispanic versions: the birth of the twins follows the killing and dismemberment of a wonderful fish the eating of whose flesh causes the impregnation of the fisherman's wife, dog, horse and garden.

The second part consists of an episode which can also occur separately as a tale in itself, the famous story of the Dragon-Slayer, tale type AT 300, which here provides the adventure of the first twin. Because he is the protagonist of this central part and for the sake of clarity I shall refer to the first twin as 'the hero' and his brother as 'the twin'. The 'Dragon-Slayer' was considered to be the prototypical fairytale by Vladimir Propp in his morphological analysis of the genre, and is regarded by many scholars as the most ancient of European stories, its theme going back beyond historical records into the time of mythical combats between heroes and monsters.

The hero then embarks on a subsequent adventure, in which he is unsuccessful. This gives rise to the third part of the tale, which describes the twin's adventure when he sets out to rescue the hero from the death or enchantment which has befallen him. During his search for his brother, the twin – identical in appearance – is mistaken by the hero's wife for her husband. When she invites him to sleep with her, the twin makes use of a sword of chastity to prevent sexual relations occurring. The twin then succeeds in overcoming the witch who has killed or imprisoned the hero, and acquires from her the means of bringing him back to life again.

There is frequently a fourth part in which the jealous hero, believing his twin has had sexual relations with his wife, kills him but later revives him out of remorse.

These four parts, which at first sight may look like a collage of separate themes, arbitrarily put together, have become one of the most widespread and well established tales of European fairytales. In an attempt to understand the reasons why the tale thrived for so long in

this apparently arbitrary form, I will begin by exploring the inner logic of each of its parts, basing my analysis on my reference text, but taking into account the other Portuguese versions at my disposal to clarify and verify my argument.

3. 'The Beast With Seven Heads': Analysis of the Episodes

3.1. *The Brood of a Dismembered Fish*

A poor fisherman, who usually only manages to catch small fish, unexpectedly finds in his net an 'enormous fish', which promises to give him a large catch of small fish if its own life is spared. The fisherman agrees but his wife shows such disappointment at having missed the opportunity to eat a fish big enough to provide 'steaks' ('peixe de posta') that, the next time the fish is caught in the man's net, he refuses to let it go. The fish accepts its fate and instructs the fisherman how he should cut up its body and distribute the portions: two for the fisherman's wife, two for his bitch, two for his mare and two to go into his manure heap.

In his study *Myth, Cosmos and Society*, Bruce Lincoln (1986) makes an extensive survey of Indo-European cosmogonies based on the death and dismemberment of a first being. These myths were ritually enacted from time to time as a means of reinforcing the cohesion of the social group. The start of our tale introduces us to a parallel event of death and dismemberment. But, unlike the myths analysed by Lincoln, the fish controls the circumstances of its own death and organizes the future by stipulating the manner in which its body should be dismembered and distributed. This willing victim is not unlike the crucified Christ – whose symbol is the fish – sacramentally shared in the communion of the bread and wine. This tale, likely to have taken its present shape in the Christian Middle Ages, certainly invites the imagination to link old cosmogonies to the newer worldview, to link a totemic King of the Fish to a Christ symbolized by a fish.

The fisherman's wife gives birth to twin sons, his mare to two horses, his bitch to two lions, and from the manure heap there grow two scimitars. The three females and the manure heap (in this context obviously female as well) function as recipients of the fertilizing power of the fish. They are the matter from which will issue the male twins and the extensions which will qualify them as heroes, the horses and swords – symbols of their knightly power – and the lions – an embodiment of their strength. That the bitch gives birth to lions is characteristic of Portuguese variants of the tale type. Elsewhere it

gives birth to dogs, making biological sense but losing in symbolical impact.

In fairytales 'almost everything internal is translated into external plot', says Lutz Röhrich when he defines their symbolic nature. And he adds that their 'figures can be described as having no inner world because they are the inner world' (1991: 26). But whose inner world is this fairytale describing?

The bitch, the mare and the manure heap are equated here with the woman just as strength, nobility and power will be equated with the twins. We shall gradually become aware of how the tale is consistently sustained by the debasement of woman, through a latent fear and distrust of her as a destructive sexual partner. In this opening episode, she begins by being the cause of the death of the first victim – the fish. Simultaneously, she is homologous to the manure, no more than the ground from which the heroes will rise. There is little information given on the narrators in the older collections of Portuguese folktales. But it is not surprising that in those cases where we do have specific information about the narrator of a Portuguese version, the informant was always male.

In three of the Portuguese versions the fish actually commands its own death. However in most cases it is the woman's will which is the determining factor. But though this beginning of the greedy fisherman's wife has echoes of another tale – *The Fisherman's Wife* (AT 555) – the resemblance stops there. This is much more than a cautionary tale on feminine greed. Here the wife's greed obeys a blind necessity for, even when she does not demand to eat the fish, the initiative is taken, in other versions, either by the husband or by the fish itself.

The fish acts through the woman, but the woman's demands trigger the action. Whereas the man is portrayed as 'poor', capable only of catching small fish, the wife is a powerful demanding woman who is not satisfied with what her husband can give her. She needs something else, something more. The implication is that the man who cannot give her anything but small fish likewise cannot give her babies – the small fish becoming a metaphor for inadequate potency.

Like many other fairytales which start with a grieving barren queen, the event that follows the dismemberment and distribution of the fish marks a cleavage in time, a passage from the absence of story/history to a story worth telling, a passage from a female void and an ineffectual and docile male to a male pair of wonder twins and their magic male animals and equipment, heroes of the story to come.

Jaan Puhvel's concise discussion of 'Twin and Brother' (Puhvel 1987: 284–290) points out the recurrence of twinship and sacrifice in many Indo-European origin myths. For now I shall merely point out

how the theme of creation is reinforced in this tale by the presence of the twins as the protagonists of the story. In this light 'The Beast With Seven Heads' has a cosmogonic and sacrificial dimension akin to that of myths.

The fish, like a phallus that emerges from the feminine womb of the sea, is only fit to exercise its fertilizing and transforming power when it leaves the indetermined nature of water and, inserted in time, becomes mortal. It dies by becoming divided, as time is divided and as the species are differentiated. Two successive divisions, separation and dismemberment, introduce a story in which the dynamics of differentiation will recur continually. From the dismembered flesh of the fish, fallen on appropriate ground, doubles arise, still undifferentiated, each a pair of identical males. In turn they will separate, giving rise to a further differentiation.

The tale begins, therefore, with a conception which has its origins in an act of violence and whose consequence is the magical birth of twins. If birth has been universally seen in human societies as an awesome and magical occurrence, the birth of twins is doubly so and the attitudes towards the event are doubly ambivalent. This ambivalence has been examined by the anthropologist Laura Makarius in her exploration of blood symbolism in tribal societies. Twin-births are seen as proof that the time of their conception was marked by some impurity. In many old beliefs, twins are an abhorrence that reinforces the latent or explicit danger of the lochial blood, the blood of childbirth: 'le caractère dangereux des jumeaux s'accompagne de deux caractéristiques, l'ambivalence et l'éfficacité magique, qui dénotent la surdétermination subie par le danger du sang' (Makarius 1974: 91). In this tale, sacrificial violence and supernatural (hence illegitimate) conception are the mythical elements in the origin of the magical pair of twins and are also the elements which determine their destiny. As Makarius points out, 'une "naissance impure" constitue une prédestination à violer les tabous, faisant de ces enfants des violateurs en puissance' (1974: 91). The adventures that will follow bear the mark of the twins' need to become separate, to be differentiated from each other, and the fate that will bring them together in violence.

The twins first undergo a double differentiation, which mirrors the one suffered by the fish. They separate from their birth-place and parents – as the fish was separated from the sea. Then they separate from each other – as the fish was cut. But, a sign of their single nature, they remain linked by a life-index, a magic token of their mutual fidelity and inter-dependence: in this story two roses plucked from a single rosebush. If one twin's rose should wither, he will know that his brother is in mortal danger and needs his help. In its turn, the rosebush

from which two roses were plucked glosses the double separation referred to above: from home – from the trunk – and from each other.

The allomotif of the rosebush in most other versions is a crossroads, which reflects the same element of oneness and division. In a few versions, redundantly, a cross at the crossroads serves as a signal equivalent to the roses: should it bleed, or should one of the two knives stuck in it by the brothers become rusty, then the twin would know his brother was in danger.

From this point onwards a threshold of space and time is crossed as the adventure begins. We now follow the hero's adventure. The active side of the twosome will fulfil its function by detaching itself and becoming autonomous. The destiny of the twin only becomes relevant when the hero's function is exhausted and he is killed. Their later reunion will precipitate a crisis in the order established by the hero, a crisis which will in turn lead to the inauguration of a further new order.

3.2. *The Dragon-Slayer*

The second episode of 'The Beast With Seven Heads', as we have already noted, can be a separate hero tale which stands on its own, the tale of *The Dragon-Slayer* (AT 300). A seven-headed dragon demands to be fed with a maiden every day, and when the hero arrives on the scene the lot of being the dragon's next victim has fallen to the king's daughter.

Like all heroes since the Babylonian Marduk who, by defeating the female sea-monster Tiamat subdued chaos and established a new order, the hero of this tale defeats and kills the dragon. He is aided by his lion and horse and equipped with his sword (scimitar) – all solar symbols, 'diurnal' symbols in Gilbert Durand's central conceptual distinction between the elements of the 'nocturne' and 'diurne' in myth (Durand 1984). The hero cuts off the seven heads of the dragon, and in so doing severs that fateful connection between maidens and dragons which was the cause of all the trouble. The threateningly undifferentiated quality of this monster is shown by the fact that it is a body with so many heads. We all know from traditional dragon-lore that if only one head was cut off the neck would breed a replacement. It is the power of so many replicas of the one head – indifferentiation itself – that makes the dragon such a terrifying monster. The heroic deed is an act of differentiation which, by separating the many heads from the one body, finally achieves the separation of maiden from dragon.

A regular feature of this story is that the hero then cuts the tongues

out of each of the heads. This is portrayed as a cunning stratagem to produce proof of his valour in the face of the claims of any impostor. The hero wraps the tongues in the princess's handkerchief: the cut off tongues in the soiled handkerchief will then be shown to the king as proof that the hero should be her rightful husband. One might suggest a connection here with proofs of defloration, an important factor in some traditional societies (Briffault 1977: 401). A fascinating gloss on this motif occurs in some versions where he wraps the tongues individually in pieces of cloth torn from each of the princess's seven skirts. As if each tongue of the seven heads of the dragon gave him closer access to the maiden's body, as if each of the seven heads corresponded to one of her seven veils ... And then, if we have any doubts as to the link between the dragon and the maiden, in this version she, too, 'loses her tongue' when the dragon is killed. And she remains dumb until the dragon's tongues are finally 'handed back' as proof of the hero's claims.

A characteristic development of this part of the story is the interruption of the banquets that precede the intended wedding of the princess to the usurper. The hero's lion humiliates the bridegroom by, first, snatching away his plate of food and then, in the second banquet, by slapping his face. This comic episode serves as a gradual build up to the recognition scene, meant to delight the audience with the reversal of fates between the hero and the false hero. The listener laughs with the dumb princess and later with the hero himself, as he scorns not only the villain but also the king, much discomforted at such an overturning of the order of things. In some versions (such as my no. 15 in Appendix 1) the hero declines to appear before the king, who has to lower himself to leave the palace and come to meet the hero in his humble abode. This episode has all the elements of a carnival situation, a temporary vindication of the poor and oppressed in relation to the rich and the powerful (Klaniczay 1990, commenting on Bakhtin 1984). The carnival spirit is present not only in the reversal of roles but in the theme of disguise. The lion disturbing the royal banquet is acting as the hero's herald: the bridegroom is an impostor, and it is the outsider who is the hero, the future king. In the context of the fairytale this expresses the falseness of the order of the old king, which is to be superseded by the new order of the hero.

The maiden's dumbness is of course also functional, showing her lack of power. She cannot even expose an impostor and will be forced to marry him if a male hero and his animals do not rescue her. There is even the suggestion of a certain ambivalence about the maiden after the dragon's killing. Not only is she struck dumb but she is about to marry, however unwillingly, someone who is the antithesis of the

hero. The impostor is a coward and he is a black man or a charcoal burner (in other Romance versions), thus reinforcing the contrast with the solar brightness of the hero.

The princess is not fully released from the dark powers connected with the dragon until the hero, by producing the dragon's tongues, gives her back the power of speech and, at the same stroke, exposes the impostor: 'The youth showed the tongues inside the princess's handkerchief and she began to speak straightaway, saying that it had been the youth who had been her saviour'.

In conceptual or allegorical terms, the victory of the hero stands for the victory of the powers of truth and clarity over those of confusion and darkness. The black impostor can be stood in neat symmetry against the solar hero, the maiden's dragon-killer, her rightful husband. In this episode of the dragon-slayer the underlying theme of the two brothers, the twins, can be read as taking the form of contrasted rivals – hero and impostor. The episode ends with the death of the evil 'twin' (the impostor) and the hero's marriage to the princess.

Regarding the tale as a progression of necessary differentiations, the function of the hero is to separate the woman from the dragon and bring her to an ordained, well established realm in which she occupies her correct place as his wife. But what can be the nature of such a close and persistent link, the link between maidens and dragons that has given rise to dragon-slayer stories since before Perseus and Andromeda?

Dragon-killer tales direct our gaze to the positive nature of male action, which is outlined and defined as set against the dragon. The dragon's substance can only be evaluated in terms of the shadow it casts. The dragon is that which determines male heroic action. In other words, what in the plot is posited as the negative pole of an opposition (dragon versus hero) can be viewed as the undifferentiated reality which originates the two oppositions. Cosmogonies, that relate a period of chaos preceding an eventual period of order to the time of the dragon, give a mythical rendering of the same concept.

We outlined earlier Holbek's decoding of the dragon, which he interprets as the symbol of the girl's father. But should we feel the need to acknowledge the reality behind the dragon – the shadow which it is the hero's task to dispel leaving in its place nothing except the clarity of a new era – we need to delve into an 'archeology of silence'.

Chris Knight's anthropological approach (1991b) to the dragon in myths and folktales is an insightful attempt at such an archeology. For Knight the dragon is the paradigmatic symbol of female autonomy. In his theory of human origins, culture is founded on a primeval act of

female solidarity, later to be denigrated, from a male perspective, as a time of chaos. The 'time of the dragon' becomes an era which could only be ended by an act of male supremacy.

The different interpretations given by Knight and Holbek do not contradict each other. On the contrary, both make sense in the context of these tales. In both interpretations the dragon functions as the obstacle that has to be overcome by the hero if he is to marry the maiden. In psychological terms the hero is confronted either by a jealous father or – in another facet of the same conflict – by the oedipal link between the girl and her father. The dragon symbolically expresses the fact that the father is the hero's fiercest and ultimate rival. Holbek's decoding of the dragon as father belongs to the social unconscious. It can also belong to the sexual unconscious, once the validity of the oedipal conflict is accepted.

On the other hand, the beast which needs the periodic sacrifice of a maiden can be related to the periodicity of women's blood. Needing women's blood becomes, through the slightest of permutations, needing women to bleed. The dragon who periodically feeds on maidens' blood, 'swallowing' them, and carrying them away from the possibility of marriage, can be decoded as a phase of sexual disjunction, paradigmatically inimical to men as husbands, a period of blood ties (kinship), rather than sexual intercourse (marriage).

For both Knight and Holbek the dragon represents the ties of kinship, and the struggle with the dragon the difficulties faced in the transition from kinship ties to those of marriage. According to Knight's model 'marriage' is only possible when the dragon is killed: the blood that then flows and the tongues that leave bloodstains on the maiden's handkerchief, are caused by the hero's sword, rather than by the dragon's regular swallowing of female blood. In other words, the periodical flow of female blood, which keeps woman under the 'dragon's power' and unavailable to man, is superseded by the hero's own drawing of blood – an act that, in this context, Holbek also decodes as defloration. It is a daring act through which the hero acquires a right to the maiden. Women as the many-headed dragon and woman individually released from the dragon and available to marry would correspond, therefore, to two different social configurations: that of undifferentiated – i.e., all female – blood ties connected with menstrual potency and autonomous from male sexual bondings; and that of marital coupling, connected with ovular receptivity.

Portuguese versions of this tale from Africa will serve as a good illustration of this point. In the versions from Cape Verde and Mozambique the dragon becomes an over-determined symbol of what I would call female potency. In 'The Two Brothers' (Parsons 1923: 263–

272, no. 88) the dragon guards a well, swallows a maiden every month and causes the water to become blood-red each time it appears. Furthermore, its arrival is announced by thunder and lightning, a phenomenon often associated with the rain-making powers of menstrual women (Briffault 1977: 355). In 'Os Filhos da Cobra Bona' (Rosário 1989: 237–243) the Beast announces its arrival and proclaims itself as 'the master of the rivers and rains', 'the master of all the virgins' and 'the master of thunder and lightning'. In the Angolan version 'Sudika-Mbambi' (Chatelain 1964, no. 5) thunder and lightning is the cosmic signal of the continuing struggle between the twins.

There are in fact indications that the opposition hero-dragon is not as clear-cut as it may seem. Propp points out the implicit affinity between the dragon and the single hero who is predestined to kill it (1983: 290–291). But this obscure kinship surfaces more clearly with twins, for they, too, bear the stigma of undifferentiation. In 'Os Filhos da Cobra Bona' the heroes are themselves the children of a snake. As mentioned earlier, Laura Makarius has shown that beliefs in the ambivalent potency of twins connect them with the impurity of female blood. René Girard also connects the explosive dangers latent in the relationship of twins with undifferentiation (Burkert et al. 1987: 123). It would seem, therefore, that the key to the isomorphism between the twins and the dragon, who both appear as thunder and lightning, seems to be undifferentiation and blood potency.

The killing of the dragon results in the hero's union with a woman whom he separated from the dragon and with whom he now makes a complementary, perfect pair, inside a city – a metonymia for the world. Chaos, the terror caused by the dragon, is overcome. Woman is in her place, subject to man rather than to the dragon. The past is over, and the time is ordered, clear, conscious – present. This episode is so clear-cut in its division between good and evil, that it becomes self-evident that, by killing the dragon, releasing the princess and all future maidens from its power and unmasking the black impostor, the hero restores order to the realm. He therefore merits the happy-end of marrying the princess and the prospect of becoming the king.

This is the story of the undivided one-sided hero. With his strength he can overcome the dark forces, and with his sword he can cut straight through the boundaries between good and evil, releasing the beautiful maiden from the monster and the black impostor.

3.3. *The Tower of No Return*

The threatening undifferentiating monster was killed, truth prevailed over confusion, order was established. By marrying the princess, the hero is given access to kingship, the father gives place to the husband. Why does the story continue? Obviously because this is a tale of twins of which only one has fulfilled – and will soon exhaust – his heroic function.

The hero's thirst for adventure is not quenched yet, he longs for more. But the logic of fairytales that determines their happy-ending is the same for heroes as it is for maidens. Just as, once she is happily married, the maiden is no longer enchanted, endangered or dangerous, so the hero transmutes his heroic powers into the wisdom of good and prosperous kingship (if he also becomes king). Blissful married life is a state of permanent conjunction incompatible with either enchantment or heroic deeds.

Our particular tale, because it starts with twins, can and must break the boundaries beyond the happy-end. We should now recall the forebodings that Laura Makarius assigns to twins for their impure, magical origins. A twin is destined for 'le rôle de l'audacieux qui, méprisant les dangers, violant les interdits, défie les divinités et leur arrache les biens qui feront le bonheur des hommes. C'est le mythe archétypal, vraisemblablement la souche des autres mythes' (Makarius 1974: 96).

The happily married prince may dare to step out of his mould. He may now fail in his enterprise without damaging the logic of the fairytale because his twin, inactive up to this point, is in reserve, ready to come to the rescue and perform the heroic deed that will complement the action of the first hero. When one is dealing with a double hero – with twins – the structural need for a double adventure should indicate an inner logic that the twins will fulfil functions of a different order: one will achieve what is beyond the other's capacities. Let us now examine how this complementary action takes shape in the sequence of the tale.

On the wedding night the hero goes to the window and sees a mysterious tower in the distance. If the eyes are the windows of the soul, it would be interesting to see the role played by windows – as opposed to doors – in fairytales. In the Portuguese province of Alentejo, although it is the job of women to regularly paint the outside walls of their homes, it is men's task to paint the window and door frames – as if these needed the imprint of male *mana* to exorcize their vulnerability to the unknown outdoors. More than doors, windows are the threshold through which the 'other world' can invade the man-made solidness of this world. Evil humans can enter the doors, but it is

the inhuman that has access through the windows. We shall see later, in other types of tales, that it is through windows that dragons come on the hero's wedding night or that monstrous snakes have access to the heroine when she is giving birth. In this tale the window functions as a rupture of the firm structure of the palace, through which the contented hero now longs for something else, something forbidden. The next morning, he defies the princess's warning that whoever goes to the tower never comes back again. Accompanied by his lion, mounting his horse, carrying his sword, the hero sets forth – and is defeated by a witch.

The visit to the tower is a typical Portuguese feature of the second quest in tales of this type. The usual names of the tower are the 'Torre da Babilónia' ('Tower of Babylon') and the 'Torre da Má Hora' ('Tower of the Evil Hour' or 'Tower of Ill Luck'). The 'evil hour' – as opposed to the 'good hour', the Portuguese expression signifying the time of successfully giving birth – is the hour of death, an interpretation which is confirmed by the warning formula which is usually appended to the name of the tower, 'quem lá vai não torna' ('whoever goes there does not return'). This suggests that the hero's purpose is to pass the threshold of death and return – in simple terms, to conquer death. Having won the horizontal space of a kingdom, the hero now takes on the challenge of conquering the vertical space in the realm beyond death, the 'tower of no return', with immortality as a reward.

Reference to certain medieval romances may shed some light on the 'Torre da Má Hora'. In *Perceval le Gallois*, Gawain is tried in a magic stronghold belonging to a Queen and inhabited by maidens: 'nul chevalier n'y peut rester vivant une heure, s'il est couard, médisant ou avide' (Régnier-Bohler 1989: 94). Then Gawain defeats a lion whose paws he cuts and wears on his shield (ibid.: 98). We also find a 'Tower of Babylon' in *Floire et Blanchefleur*: 'At the entry of Babiloine there is a very deep and wide water passage, and the pontonier (...) a dangerous man who beats and robs those comers he suspects but, if his suspicions are calmed, will play chess with one' (Lutrell 1974: 148). The Portuguese versions show an interesting syncretism of these elements, with a lion of flesh and blood, and, in some versions, a 'game of cards' that the twins play with the witch. Whether there was a common oral source for the medieval and the popular texts must remain a matter of conjecture – in *Erec et Enide*, Chrétien de Troyes refers haughtily to rival narrative poets – part of an existing oral tradition? – as 'ceux qui content pour gagner leur vie en dire des morceaux sans lien et gâter tout le récit' (1984: 1).

Up to this point the tale has followed a linear progression which took place through a succession of differentiating acts towards a state of differentiation and order. It now starts 'bending' towards a circular

line that should lead to something like a reabsorption into indifferentiation – that of death. If this is so with the fate of individual life, it is not so with man's need for historical unfoldment and endless progress or, indeed, with his fear of death. But the alternative wisdom that progress can only be achieved through a cyclical movement of death and renewal is a recurrent feature of fairytales. Our tale is consistently linked with the primitive idea that life – or a given social order – derives from the death and dismemberment of an ancestor.

Ironically, the tower appears visually as an image of the utmost differentiation. If compared with the horizontal endlessness of the sea, with which the story began, it stands out in its contrasting verticality. Interestingly, in one version (my no. 5) the tower attracts the image of the sea to its vicinity: before the twin fights with the witch we are told 'the boy had cut her hair in little bits and had thrown it into the sea'. An homologous dismemberment leading to yet another beginning – with the potency of woman's hair as the primal matter from which man can create anew? The lingering symmetry, from one variant to the other, with the sea from which the fish is taken and cut into pieces, is teasing.

The hero goes to the tower where he meets a deceptively fragile little old woman, 'uma velhinha'. She challenges him to a wrestling match and tells the hero to tie up his lion with one of her hairs. In fact this little old woman turns out to be immensely strong, her hair thickens (into an iron chain, we are told in other versions), and the hero, isolated from his animal helpers, dies in the fight. The hero who defeated the Seven Headed Dragon and unmasked the impostor now dies at the hands of a little old woman, a witch in fact, whose hair by tying his lion, binds the hero's strength.

The witch's hair turning into a chain is a regular feature in Portuguese versions. The hero's strength (exteriorised as his 'lion' and 'horse') is caught in what is suggested as an entanglement, a paralysing embrace – not unlike the nets that first caught the fish. Her weapons fit exactly the forces of encircling, binding and swallowing described by Gilbert Durand as the nocturnal aspect of the imaginary, the polar opposite to the solar hero's sword and helpers. In a version in Basile's *Pentamerone*, 'The Merchant's Two Sons' (Day 1, Tale 7) – which with his 'The Enchanted Hind' (Day 1, Tale 9) are the first written texts we have providing full versions of this tale type – the beautiful witch also has the power of 'enchanting, binding, fastening, knotting, enchaining and entangling men with her hair' (Basile 1932, I: 72). This power of women's hair, metaphorical in Basile, becomes a literal event within the oral tradition. Those are forces of a dimension beyond the hero's scope, that can only be experienced by him as death.

Among the Portuguese versions the witch only appears as a beauti-

ful woman in the version from Cape Verde, 'The Two Brothers'. However, in one version (my no. 9) the fight with the witch has distinctive undertones of a sexual encounter, and the implications of a bodily embrace ending with a deadly grasp of the old woman's powerful arms is often present. This sexual nature of the hero's encounter is not unlike Gawain's situation in the Queen's stronghold, referred to earlier: 'le Lit de la Merveille, où nul ne dort ni ne repose ni ne s'assoit qui puisse se lever ensuite et vivre' (Régnier-Bohler 1989: 97).

The witch and the dragon have much in common. They each embody both an awesome power and a female quality, that attracts the hero. He is drawn to the dragon because of the maiden, and he is attracted to the tower to fight with a woman. Both dragon and witch use female weapons, they swallow or bind. In heroine tales like 'Rapunzel' (AT 310), the witch keeps the maiden in seclusion, away from courtship and marriage and, in this sense, is functionally equivalent to the dragon. The prince is attracted to Rapunzel's tower (and literally drawn to the maiden by her hair) just as this hero is drawn to killing the dragon. In one version of our current tale (my no. 4), the witch happens to keep in her tower three enchanted princesses who become the brides of the three heroes.

The tower that lures the hero and is a measure of the scale of his desire turns out to be his downfall. The reference text treats this episode briefly. In less abbreviated versions he is finally beheaded and his body thrown through a trapdoor into a dungeon – he is 'swallowed' by the tower, which in the last analysis is an extension of the witch. The hero is, in death, homologous to the fish, killed to satisfy a woman: both die entangled, stifled, dismembered and swallowed. There is however a fundamental difference between the two deaths. Whereas one had the purposefulness of an act of creation, in the other the hero dies a victim of his hybris, with of course the functional purpose of triggering the twin's actions.

What links these two deaths is that they both highlight the mortal danger that female sexuality presents to man, a theme that runs throughout the tale. In the central section it appears in a different light: by rescuing the maiden from the ravaging (and swallowing) dragon the hero distills from the feminine all the dangers that were connected with it and can then safely marry a harmless maiden. It could be argued that, when woman and dragon merge into one, as with the witch in the tower, femaleness is sexual and hostile and, unless the hero is chaste, the encounter is bound to end in tragedy. 'The hunter', writes Walter Burkert, 'must be abstinent and pure. Adonis, rising from Aphrodite's bed, is bound to fail' (1979: 118).

At this point we can determine two sets of undifferentiation, split

along gender lines: that of the warrior twins (with their identical swords, horses and lions), and that of female undifferentiation, so pervasive that it is hardly perceived as multiple. It is the undifferentiation of the sea from which the fish emerges; that of the woman, the bitch, the mare and the manure incorporating the dismembered fish; that of the princess about to be consumed by a dragon already full of swallowed maidens; and that of the witch in her tower full of dead or enchanted people: These are overdetermined images, that besides suggesting pregnancy, each to be followed by a kind of birth, also suggest undifferentiated and threatening femaleness. In the same way the togetherness of the twins is itself a potential threat. In due course we shall see how the tale can be perceived along a deeper cleavage, one that divides sexual coupling from sexual separation. But let us now consider the undifferentiation of the twins.

3.4. *The Adventure of the Twin Brother*

In *Violence and the Sacred* René Girard argues that culture is a striving towards differentiation and all signs of undifferentiation become, therefore, a threat that can unleash the chaos of violence (Girard 1977). We have seen how our tale strives through successive steps towards differentiation. We shall now see how the undifferentiated twins become the core of this threat of violence and how the tale, through its variations, cannot evade the danger arising from the inevitable interdependence of this twosome.

The withering of the rose – the brother's 'life index' – warns the twin of the hero's danger and he sets out to his rescue. Apart from the dragon slaying episode, his journey mimetically repeats that of the hero, setting the scene for the violence of undifferentiation. Time repeats itself, upsetting an established order of sequence, breaking the boundaries of taboos, opening the possibility of incest – chaos lurks. The altruistic action that leads to the rescue becomes confused with a mimesis that will inevitably cause rivalry and violence. In our tale the threat posed by the very existence of the twins is reinforced by the mimetic behaviour of the second twin. After discussing the fear of twins in primitive societies Girard concludes that 'wherever differences are lacking violence threatens' (1977: 57). And elsewhere, in *Violent Origins*, he states: 'Violence is a symmetrical, reciprocal process because it is mimetic. I am convinced that the association between violence and biological twins in many mythologies and rituals stems from a frequent [...] confusion between the physical similarity of identical twins and the reciprocity of mimetic conflict' (Burkert et al. 1987: 123).

Most Portuguese versions stress the motif of the sword of chastity that the twin lays between himself and the hero's wife when he spends the night with her. The version that omits it (my no. 3) suggests, by implication, the twin's incestuous adultery. Logically – and disconcertingly – this version vindicates the hero, by omitting any final revival of the twin. We may note that, among the versions with the jealousy episode, this is the only one in which the twin can be differentiated from the hero by a mark on his face. The mimetic repetition of the brother's life, including sharing his wife, therefore appears unpardonable.

The sword of chastity, in the context of our tale, seems to fulfil a double function. By highlighting the innocence of the twin it justifies his revival, therefore grounding the need for a just and happy ending. Secondly and more importantly perhaps, it underlies the twin's need for sexual abstinence before a combat or heroic deed, a need that the hero had not fulfilled. In one version (my no. 4), where there are three twin brothers who successively marry the same woman, all three make use of a sword of chastity the night before going to the tower. The jealousy motive is absent from this particular version: the three brothers end up by marrying three enchanted princesses and the original wife fades into oblivion. In this instance the sword of chastity can only serve the purpose of keeping the man chaste for combat, indicative of the belief that sex with a woman is dangerous and incompatible with heroic deeds. The male heroic condition implies a state of disjunction, of separation from woman. Conversely, woman's equivalent state of disjunction is equated with 'wildness', danger or threat, with a symmetrical unavailability to man (Cardigos 1991), as was apparent with the dragon-bound maiden and the witch.

The twin then goes to the tower with his animals and sword, an exact replica of the hero. However, he outwits the witch in cunning, only pretending to tie his lion with her hair, and so the animal is able to help him to overcome her. He shows himself capable of not succumbing to her 'entanglements'.

The twin displays a knowledge (or a quality) that the hero lacked. Only when the hero's action exhausts itself (literally) and something more than just bravery is needed does the twin appear. Although he is mistaken for the hero and his journey mimes that of his brother, he has neither killed a dragon nor married a maiden, he is virgin from action and, perhaps more importantly, from woman. He is therefore capable of preventing his strength – his lion – from being bound by the witch's hair – woman's power.

In this way, the narrative establishes a dichotomy between loving and knowing; he who loves (the hero), loses a knowledge that would

prevent him from becoming the prey of woman. Loving, in its widest sense 'becoming involved', can be understood as participating in life, acting. This is the hero's task, killing the dragon, marrying the maiden, following the required events in the course of time. The twin is left pure from this involvement in time and is therefore free to act and to avoid becoming vulnerable to death. As woman and her dangers become a fitting metaphor for involvement in a life which also entails death, so knowledge will stand for non-involvement in the substance of life unfolding in time, and therefore for the capacity to transcend death. The twin moves outside ordered time, disrupts the established order and shows a hidden complicity with the witch's ways. He therefore becomes capable of neutralizing her weapons and of wrenching from her the means of restoring the hero back to life.

If the witch embodies the destructive aspects of the Jungian *anima* she also possesses and monopolizes the means of life and resurrection. She not only swallows the living – sometimes literally, in the shape of the tower – but she also has the power of regurgitating them, bringing them back to life (when forcefully persuaded to do so, as is necessary a witch). Her Kali-like nature is of course shared by many other 'black goddesses', mistresses of life and death, among which the Medusa with her hair of serpents, her deadly face and her healing blood, is only one example. The Baba Jaga of Russian fairytales and the Frau Holle of German fairytales share that same ambivalent nature which pervades mythical thought. Dagmar Burkhart (1982) makes a survey of such characters in feminine tales, in which, reassessed from a female point of view, they appear as stern but helpful figures. Burkhart connects them with an archaic mother-daughter relationship. In masculine tales such as this one they are most often arch-enemies. From a psychoanalytical perspective, they reflect the engulfing mother from whom man must differentiate himself (Chodorow 1974).

3.5. *An Awkward Denouement*

After the twin compels the witch to revive the hero with her life-giving oil, he is killed by the hero, who believes the twin has betrayed him when he spent the night with the hero's wife. In our version the scene of the fratricide is specified as the yard in front of the tower, a stage – or sacrificial enclosure. What happens is uncomprehensible in fairytale logic and yet it is given a performance stage. Actually the necessity for this murder goes further than the requirements of the plot's construction, as we shall see.

There is certainly a feeling of awkwardness about an ending that is

either unjust, with the hero killing his saviour or, if corrected by the revival of the twin, looks like an easy way out of a tricky situation. The twins end up by being in control of life and death, disposing of them in a totally whimsical fashion. As they have gained possession of what belonged to the witch, they don't need to control their violence, because they now have the means of correcting it. No wonder that so many versions simply omit the jealousy killing.

The ending of 'The Beast With Seven Heads', one of the best achieved of its kind, still appears like a daydream bringing an end to a nightmare. After being told the truth concerning the sword of chastity by his dying brother, the hero carries the twin's dead body back to the tower, accompanied by the two lions. As the witch refuses to hand him the reviving oil he orders the lions to kill her, finds the flask of oil in the witch's pocket, revives the twin and then both enter the tower. They triumphantly revive all the corpses found inside and the tale ends by saying that they always lived together very happily and that the kingdom prospered due to the riches found in the witch's tower.

The denouement of many versions that include these episodes often borders on the farcical, something which Jason and Röhrich consider as expressing a later attitude of disbelief towards stories originally taken seriously (Jason 1977: 10–11; Röhrich 1991: 51–56). The hero is clearly shown as overstretching himself in his clumsy attempts to give a proper resuscitation to the twin. In versions of a more mythical nature – such as the Angolan 'Sudika-Mbambi' in which the two heroes become lightning and thunder – the heavenly twins engage in a perennial cosmic fight. In fairytales, however, they are almost ridiculed as they lose their composure, using sword and ointment as toys with which they now master life and death. At this point I am tempted to hear a 'tongue-in-cheek' reworking by the occasional woman who also handled the tale, deflating with laughter the inordinate feats of the naughty hero, lacing with humour the sombre solemnity of the myth to give it a fairytale happy-ending.

The Portuguese variants show much hesitation as to the 'correct' form of ending the tale. In one version (my no. 15) the hero, after killing his twin, brings him back to life with his head back to front, and has to behead him again to get it right in the end. This version has many traits in common with the Grimms' story of 'The Two Brothers' (KHM no. 60), in which the hero, beheaded by the impostor, is revived by one of his animals (a hare) with a magic root, which restores his head to his body, only back to front. In another version (my no. 12) the twin's head is actually left on backwards 'so that we become different from each other', a wise precaution, in Girard's perspective (above, p. 72), given the dangers arising from the undifferentiation between twins.

3.5.1. *Psychological Interpretations*

A Jungian approach can easily deal with this episode by interpreting the killing of the twin as arising from the need to devolve the unconscious side of self to its proper place, lest it submerges consciousness. The subsequent revival of the twin could then be interpreted as a balanced reintegration of the unconscious contents into consciousness; the wealth found in the tower, as the riches brought forth from the depths of unconsciousness; the dead which the twins bring back to life as the release of all that latent potential ... etc. Marie-Louise von Franz interprets the statues of petrified people that the hero then releases in an equivalent final scene in the Persian tale 'The Baths of the Bâdgerd' as follows: 'Those other petrified people would be complexes or parts of one's own personality. (...) If the process of individuation, the main inner life process, is blocked, then naturally all secondary instinctive processes are also disturbed' (von Franz 1982: 118).

An explanation of this sort may make perfect psychological sense, it is indeed a sure recipe for interpretation once one becomes at ease with its ingredients. In *Shadow and Evil in Fairy Tales* von Franz (1974) deals specifically with the two Grimm's versions of AT 303 in order to illustrate her theory as well as her analytical practice. The tales are used to highlight and illustrate a theory which is intent on showing that all fairytales have a healing property, that they are the fruits of wisdom. I would suggest that, though they can indeed be used in this way, they are worth both less and more than just that.

There is an interesting biologically-grounded interpretation for 'twins' tales which has been considered by Freudian scholars and which can also ultimately be appropriated in Jungian terms. In 'Excessos, Perdas e Medos – Crises do Corpo e Auto-Recriações Simbólicas', Susana Trovão (1989) examines the concept of the twins as originating in the foetal stage of development, with the umbilical cord as the 'double', the twin of the baby. After giving many examples of practices that show this belief – some still surviving in Portugal as well as in other parts of Europe – she argues that the relationship with this intra-uterine 'companion', the umbilical cord, should be recognized as the first inter-relational stage of human development.

In this light both twins make one life. It is therefore not surprising that the cosmogonic myths do not hesitate to kill the twin and that the tales' happy endings find themselves at odds on what to do with the 'spared' twin. Most often he is not even given a wife and he never becomes the king. One narrator, apparently at a loss, ends the tale in the following words: 'the other brother would go here and there, spend-

ing money and enjoying himself, as if he was her [i.e., the hero's wife's] son, and there you are!' (my no. 15). It is as if the twin only mattered in relation to the hero.

This 'child – umbilical cord' interpretation of the twins is perfect for a Jungian interpretation as in the following extract from the Mundaka Upanishad quoted by von Franz: 'Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating'. (von Franz 1974: 109.)

In its mythical origins as well as in its folktale form, the psychological foundation of the twin heroes has therefore been connected with the perception of a double nature in man, which came to be formulated in many ways: flesh and spirit, active and contemplative natures, conscious and unconscious, ego and shadow... In their complementarity, one of them is always perceived as the supporting and grounding side of the other, the one that lives and acts.

However, a psychological rendering of a tale is ultimately unsatisfactory because it explains a product of the mind with another such product. In this tautological impasse the gloss that psychology makes on the tale becomes another – impoverished – tale. In my view these interpretations acquire more life and a new substance if also anchored in other realities, such as those of sociology, anthropology or, indeed, biology.

4. The Imaginary of Twins

Let us consider the strange denouement of this tale in a different light. The plot has given us a plausible motivation of sexual jealousy for the killing. There follows the revival episode when the jealousy proves to be unfounded. Once the killing is discovered to be doubly unjust – not only was the hero's brother his saviour, but he was innocent as well – it could never make for a satisfying happy-ending. Balance seems to be restored when the hero revives his brother using the healing oil which the twin had used with him for the same purpose. Without the revival the killing tarnishes the hero's aura. On the other hand, the revival creates problems. But in this case why is the killing an obligatory episode in one fifth of all the versions (in Ranke's 1934 survey), and more than half of the Portuguese ones? (Ranke noted the jealousy killing as non-existent in Portuguese versions, which illustrates the danger of the Historic-Geographic method if it attempts far-reaching conclusions on incomplete material.)

Although there doesn't seem to be any intrinsic necessity for the twin's murder, I believe that its frequent appearance derives from an

older and more compelling necessity. In fact the primal killing of Twin by Man occurs in many Indo-European origin myths, myths that provided a charter for a particular worldview and for the establishment of a particular form of social hierarchy. Bruce Lincoln shows how this all-pervading myth crystallized in a mode of thought which modelled the shape of societies: 'I will consider these myths of creation as one of the world's most successful systems of ideology, given that they provided the mystifications and legitimations that sustained an extremely widespread, stable, and durable but also extremely rigid, hierarchic, and exploitative social system' (Lincoln 1986: 5). He then proceeds to illustrate with the relevant mythical texts how the dismembered parts of the primal victim become the *fons et origo* of the three basic classes in Indo-European society – the priests, the warriors and the commoners – their different roles having been assigned by divine ordinance. Lincoln's observation that 'one of the most obvious practical applications of a myth describing creation is dismemberment through bodily sacrifice', a re-enactment of myths 'in which "Twin" most often is the sacrificial victim and "Man" performs the offering' (1986: 47), surely has resonances in any reading of the tale of 'The Beast With Seven Heads'.

I believe that the whole sacrificial event is present in our tale, although displaced to the first episode, with the killing and dismemberment of the fish, an 'ancestor' from which 'creation' – 'history', more appropriately perhaps – arises in the form of the Twins, their animals and arms. In this sense the tale is not so much linear as cyclical, as, by killing the dragon, the hero somehow reiterates the first killing by ending chaos and starting history. And this is repeated once again, when yet a new order is established after the witch's killing, when her riches and her power over death and life are then appropriated by the twins.

However, it cannot be a total coincidence that it is in a tale of heroic twins in which one kills the other that the whole action is started by the killing and dismemberment of a demiurgic fish. In its full form AT 303 could well have begun in the European Middle Ages – without the jealousy motive, as claimed by Ranke, and, indeed, a different introductory scene, other than that of the fish. But, once the twins were established as heroes, there must have arisen a compelling necessity to link them with both a primordial sacrificial dismemberment and the killing of the twin, as happens in Romance versions. If not directly stemming from the earliest complete example of this tale, these versions certainly stem from a far more ancient necessity that connects dismemberment with twins – even if at the cost of narrative logic or a satisfying ending.

In the Angolan version 'Sudika-Mbambi' the demise of the hero is that he is swallowed by a fish. In that version the fish motif is absent from the beginning of the tale: the birth of the supernatural twins occurs after the mother has an encounter with the 'Ma-Kishi', which are otherworldly destructive forces. Having, in all likelihood, some European influence, it is fascinating how this narrative transformed and displaced the 'swallowed fish' theme into such an appropriate slot.

As mentioned earlier, the hero's death is homologous with that of the fish insofar as both serve the pervasive theme of the awesome danger posed by woman's sexuality. We can now see that this homology is extended to the killing of the twin as its meaning becomes clear in the light of the story's mythical and sacrificial roots. In this perspective the twin, rather than the witch, is the sacrificial victim for the establishment of a new order. If this gives a clumsy ending to a fairytale it makes perfect sense in terms of an underlying mythical structure. The problems of adaptation of myth into a fairytale-type narrative are mirrored in the problem of the adaptation to Roman ideology of the mythical killing of Remus. Writing about 'Man and Twin' in his *Comparative Mythology*, Jaan Puhvel notes that in Roman mythology 'Remus literally went into the making of the city, a mythic fact that was no longer understood on religious terms and had to be dealt with on a 'historical' and moral basis. In this way one may comprehend how Rome got stuck with a subsequently inconvenient set of twin founders and had to rid itself of one of them by the clumsy and guilt-laden expedient of legendary fratricide. Rome was floundering on the backwash of its own suppressed mythical inheritance' (1987: 287). Likewise it would seem the killing of the second twin is the skeleton in the cupboard from the tale's forgotten or suppressed origins.

René Girard's theory of the origin of culture and religion as an all-male phenomenon of mimetic rivalry and its subsequent management by means of sacrifical scapegoating, provides an excellent psycho/anthropological explanation for the twin's killing in this tale. The twin not only duplicates the hero's history, he literally occupies his place in his wife's bed, making the explosion of violence inevitable. But then, one has to switch back to a mythical origin of this episode in order to understand the scene as a ritual sacrifice that will bring order to the threat of the chaos of further violence, purported by the very existence of the twins. Their undifferentiated nature would in itself be the explosive potential for strife, for destructive differentiation. As mentioned earlier, one version (my no. 12) solves the problem of the dangerous similarity between the twins in a curious way: the hero re-attaches the head of the twin back to front and they decide to leave it that way so they can be distinguished from each other.

Fairytales end well, and 'The Beast With Seven Heads' is no exception. A perfect new order begins in plenty: the twin brothers reigning (the princess is not mentioned), after appropriating not only the witch's riches but also her power over life and death. The fear of the sexual female, throughout perceived as death-bringing (cast in the mould of the woman who eats the fish), is overcome through acts of destruction. The dragon and the witch are killed and a better order arises from their death.

There are two Portuguese versions in which even the mother of the twins is done away with: in 'A Torre da Madorna' (my no. 12) she dies and the twins are reared by their father; and in 'Um Pescador' (my no. 7) the woman 'becomes' the twins, as the mare and the bitch 'become' the pairs of male animals. As this particular version is told in a frankly jocular mode, it is curious to note how an original creation myth, in which the parts of the demiurgical body become the finished cosmos, now surfaces as a joke.

We are left with an eerie male daydream which has suppressed all female matrices, a utopia where life can be easily disposed of because restoring it has become a male prerogative. No wonder that Bruce Lincoln concludes his study on the ideology that seems to have underlain the genesis of this tale with a review of the rigid, hierarchic and exploitative societies of priests, warriors and commoners that were grounded on this type of mythical thought. Unlike the myths, which are based on the death without revival of the Twin, the fairytales justify the genre and force a happy-ending for both protagonists. Or is it that, as suggested earlier, one can also hear the light-hearted sound of woman's laughter, deflating into farce this ballooning of male presumptions?

5. The Structure of the Tale

I would now like to examine the tale at a structural level, where I believe that what is commonly taken as an opposition male/female gains in depth and clarity when viewed in terms of sexual conjoining/sexual disjoining.

In the text we can find three points of equilibrium, of relative stability, that correspond to three satisfactory conclusions along the syntagmatic development of the plot:

1. As a consequence of eating the fish, the woman gives birth.

2. The hero marries the princess. In the *Dragon-Slayer* type, this is the happy-end of the tale.

3. The conclusion: it is safe to assume that 'living together in the

palace' includes the hero and the princess as a married couple.

Conversely, the struggles that fuel the plot can be seen as a struggle towards the coming together of the separate sexes: the woman yearns for the fish (that will make her pregnant); the hero yearns to defeat the dragon (that will give him access to the princess); then, overstepping a state of marriage – of sexual differentiation – he yearns for what can only be a state of dissolution or a tabooed encounter between the sexes (the tower of no return). And he is overpowered. The adventure is fulfilled by his double, whom he kills in a situation of confusion, or male undifferentiation, which is felt as a threat to the hero's marriage and is resolved in the final happy-ending of conjoinment.

The first sequence, that of the eating of the fish and the birth of the twins is ambiguous. As was seen earlier, the very birth of an undifferentiated twosome, the twins, is an indication that they were conceived in some tabooed, impure conjoining; hence, the latent conflict in their relationship, that comes to a head with their alternate deaths in the tower scene. As pointed out earlier, there is an homology of female undifferentiation between the woman eating the fish, the dragon swallowing the maidens and the witch keeping corpses in the tower, all strangely suggestive of oral, unnatural pregnancies (In an Angolan tale, 'A Mulher que desejava Peixe', [Chatelain 1964: 200–201, no. 4], a pregnant woman is torn asunder as a punishment for eating the fish). This said, it can also be argued, that because it fulfils the woman's wishes and leads to pregnancy and birth, no matter how unnatural and deadly, the eating of the fish can be viewed as a state of conjoining. But it certainly is not one of harmonious sexual friendship.

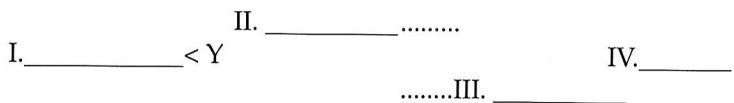
Rather than opposing this 'female disorder' to a male ordering action, in a series of binary oppositions male/female, culture/nature, order/disorder, etc., the text instead offers a system of oppositions along a different cleavage that can be seen in the following terms:

differentiation	*undifferentiation*
dismemberment of fish	sea
separation of twins	birth of twins
marriage	*'homosexual' bondings*
hero marrying maiden	love/struggle between twins
order	*disorder*
killing of the dragon	dragon with swallowed maidens
defeat of the witch and resuscitation	witch housing dead (or enchanted)

This is of course meant to be no more than a tentative sketch, liable to many adjustments and still to be developed. Nevertheless, this seems worth pursuing, as it places the classical oppositions fissured along a gender line in an entirely different perspective. Instead, the elements in each column converge to give a picture of two separate realities, of cross-gender and of in-gender bondings, respectively. As stated earlier this new configuration of oppositions has been inspired by Chris Knight's re-working of the systematic oppositions made use of by Lévi-Strauss (see earlier, p. 40). The cyclical alternation between sexual pairing and gender estrangement in primal human society is hypothesized to have left an enduring imprint in the ideologies of traditional societies (Knight 1991a).

5.1. *A Proppian Analysis*

Propp himself made an analysis of a Russian version of this tale ('The Two Ivans, Soldier's Sons', Afanasiev no. 155) and he suggested that such tales (with two seekers) could be analysed in four moves (Propp 1968: 94): I. The preparatory section, followed by the codes '< Y', indicating the separation of the two heroes (Y) after sharing a signalling device (<), which precedes the first adventure; II. The adventure of the first hero; III. The adventure of the second hero; and IV. The final section, which concerns both heroes. He suggested the following diagram:



The disposition of the bold lines that show the syntagmatic sequence allows for the differentiation between the separate adventures of each of the heroes. When Mette Rubow made a Proppian analysis of a French version of AT 303, 'La Bête à Sept Têtes' (1984), she rightly pointed out that this could be done in several different ways. It seems to me that this happens with most tale types and depends very much on how the tale is interpreted. I shall now discuss alternative analyses which will differ in the light of different readings of my reference tale, 'The Beast With Seven Heads':

I. PREPARATORY SECTION

α *(initial situation)*	A fisherman catches a big fish
γ^1 *(interdiction)*	fish tells fisherman not to kill it
$-\delta^1$ *(interdiction followed)*	fisherman spares large fish
(frustrated move because interdiction is not violated)	
a^6 *(lack)*	Wife would like to eat big fish
(repetition of preparatory section with eventful outome:)	
α *(initial situation)*	Fisherman catches big fish
γ^1 *(interdiction)*	fish tells fisherman not to kill it
δ^1 *(interdiction violated)*	fisherman refuses
γ^2 *(command)*	fish instructs fisherman how to cut and share it
δ^2 *(command carried out)*	fisherman obeys
a^6 *(lack in other forms?)*	restless twins are born who have to leave home.

The wife's *lack* (her desire to eat a big fish), followed by the fisherman's *violation of an interdiction* and then *carrying out of commands* (always an ominous event in the preparatory section), leads to the birth of twins, which, as we saw earlier, can be considered an expression of abnormality. Hence their restlessness, a new *lack*, that in turn will trigger the main action of the story.

Interpreted as a *donor sequence*, the breakdown of the preparatory section of the story would be as follows:

a *(lack)*	Poor fisherman and greedy wife
D^1 *(test setting for donor sequence)*	fisherman catches large fish
D^5 *(request for mercy)*	fish asks to be spared
E^5 *(mercy to suppliant)*	fisherman spares fish
F^1 *(magical agent of material nature)*	fisherman makes large catch

(Repetition of the same move with eventful outcome, due to *command-command carried out* (γ^2–δ^2): wife wants to eat big fish. Mercy is refused ($-E^5$) but a further test is proposed)

D^3 *(request for favour after death)*	fish instructs man how to treat its corpse
E^3 *(request granted)*	fisherman follows instructions
F *(reception of magical agent)*	birth of twin sons, animals and weapons.

Whereas the *test* D^5 leads to a modest reward (F^1), a refusal of that test is to gamble for higher stakes, inviting a second test (D^3) which leads

to a magic outcome (F) that advances the action further. We can see how this move pre-figures the sequence that later follows the dragon-slayer episode: the hero is not satisfied with the outcome of his first bid (marriage to the princess) and attempts something more – to return from the tower of no return, i.e., he embarks on a quest for immortality.

The alternative approach of considering this first move as a Donor Sequence is useful insofar as it posits the birth of the twins as a reward following a test rather than as a *lack* (or *villainy*) following the breaking of an interdiction. Nevertheless, the ambiguity remains: is the twins' birth a blessing or a curse? But, because this first move is the preparatory section for the tale itself, the first interpretation is perhaps the more appropriate approach.

II. THE ADVENTURE OF THE FIRST HERO

↑ *(departure)*	Twins leave home, with lions, horses and scimitars
< *(leave taking)*	twins separate
Y *(signalling device)*	after plucking roses
A^{17} *(villainy)*	princess threatened by dragon
C *(consent to counteraction)*	hero decides to rescue her
G^2 *(transference to designated place)*	hero rides to meet dragon
H^1 *(fight)*	hero fights dragon
I^1 *(victory in open battle)*	hero kills dragon
J *(marking)*	hero keeps dragon's tongues in princess's kerchief
L *(claims of false hero)*	black man claims princess
(2) o *(unrecognized arrival)*	hero's lion interrupts banquet (twice)
Q *(recognition)*	hero shows dragon's tongues
U *(punishment)*	false hero is killed
W* *(wedding)*	hero marries princess.

(Continuation, from hero's perspective)

a^3 *(lack of wondrous object?)*	Hero longs to come and return from tower
↑ *(departure)*	hero sets out for the tower
H^1 *(fight)*	hero fights with witch
$-I^1$ *(defeat)*	witch wins and kills hero

(From then onwards the twin's role would be that of a helper).

The same moves, can be interpreted from the twin's perspective:

III. THE ADVENTURE OF THE SECOND HERO

(Preparatory Section)	
γ^1 *(interdiction)*	'he who goes never returns'
δ^1 *(interdiction violated)*	hero goes to tower
η^1 *(deceitful persuasion)*	old woman proposes fight
θ^1 *(hero reacts to deceit)*	hero accepts
η^2 *(villain's magical agent)*	lion tied with one hair
θ^2 *(hero falls victim)*	old woman wins fight
A^{14} *(villainy, murder)*	witch kills hero
B^4 *(announcement of misfortune)*	rose withers
C *(consent to counteraction)*	Twin sets off to save hero
§ *(connective)*	twin goes to palace where ...
G^4 *(guidance)*	... he learns of tower

If the motif of the 'sword of chastity' is regarded as functional in relation to the fight with the old woman – which is my interpretation of the episode – then it must be considered as a sequence of the functions D–E, i.e., a *donor* sequence, consisting of a temptation and the twin's resistance to that temptation, which allows him to overcome the witch's deceit. This is followed by:

H *(fight)*	The twin fights with witch
I *(victory)*	The twin wins fight
J? *(mark?)*	the ointment used by the witch, used later by hero to revive twin
K^9 *(liquidation of misfortune, resuscitation)*	hero is resuscitated

Alternatively, these last three functions can be seen as a *donor test*:

D^9 *(combat with hostile donor)*	fight with witch
D^{10} *(offer of magical agent)*	offer of hair to tie lion
E^{10} *(deception in exchange)*	twin pretends to do so
E^9 *(victory in combat)*	twin wins fight
F *(magical agent is used)*	witch uses magical ointment to revive hero
followed by	
↓ *(return)*	twins return from tower.

From this point of view, instead of a sequence of functions H–I *(fight-victory)*, we would have, for the twin, two successful *donor* sequences – the sword of chastity episode and the outwitting of the witch, by which he gains access to the magical ointment – that, combined, lead

to the twin's resuscitation by his brother. It is *after* learning of the sword of chastity, that the hero uses the witch's ointment to resuscitate his twin. However, if the text gains in comprehension by treating the twin's actions as a *donor* sequence, considering it as such would be awkward at this point in the syntagmatic sequence of the tale. I shall, therefore, opt for the sequence H–I–K, with perhaps a *mark* (J), as a means to enable the final success.

IV. FINAL SECTION

ξ^3 *(information received)*	Twin's information mistaken for betrayal
A^{14} *(villainy, murder)*	hero kills twin
B^7 *(lament or plaintive song)*	dying twin tells truth
C *(return and consent to counteraction)*	hero returns to witch
I^5 *(killing of villain without fight)*	lions kill witch
K^7 *(object of search is found)*	hero finds ointment
K^9 *(resuscitation)*	hero resuscitates twin with ointment
$K^9 + K^{10}$ *(deliverance)*	twins resuscitate and release people in tower
↓ *(return)*	They all return to the palace.

We can see that the first adventure entails an achievement that can be considered to be of a domestic and individual nature – marriage and success. The second adventure involves an achievement of a higher order – the quest for immortality. This is sought in contrasting fashions: the 'bad' way, by the unprepared hero; and the 'good' way by the twin, whose quest has an altruistic motive and who obeys certain rules (passes certain tests). The final section of the story takes a sacrificial turn and results in the acquisition of the means to overcome death and thus bring deliverance to many people. This is an achievement which has passed beyond the domestic and individual to become social and universal. In this sense the tale comes close to the definitions of myth (as opposed to fairytale) as outlined by Meletinsky and Campbell. We can also see, in the fisherman sequence of the preparatory section, the first two stages of this upgrading scale of achievements: first, a large catch of fish; secondly, the promising birth of the twins and the birth (or appearance) of their helpers (or extensions).

6. Freudian Interpretations

In the early years of psychoanalytical research, Otto Rank offered an interpretation of this tale type and some similar stories (Rank 1919), in which, predictably, he placed the whole conflict within the Oedipal triangle. He saw the love of the two brothers as a transference of the father-son relation, and the maiden as representing the mother – a displacement that already existed in the ancient Egyptian tale of Anubis and Bata. More recently Mette Rubow has offered an analysis of this tale type (Rubow 1984), which provides an interesting comparison with the analysis offered here.

Rubow based her study of AT 303 on five examples taken from Paul Delarue's collection of seventy seven French versions of the tale type (Delarue 1957). After making a Proppian analysis of a French version (ibid.: 155, 38 bis), she confirms the aberrant nature of the tale-type if considered from a strictly morphological approach, and then proceeds to a Freudian analysis of the versions in her sample in order to bring to light the internal logic of the type, without which it could never have survived more than a thousand years of oral transmission (Rubow 1984: 18).

From a Proppian perspective, she points out the disproportionate length of the first section if considered only as an 'initial situation', as well as the fact that the twin (or third brother) does not receive any reward for his heroic deeds whereas the hero sometimes wins the princess without passing any test (in versions where the dragon-slayer episode is simply omitted).

Having concluded that the tale does not make sense if analysed as a sequence of functions, Rubow turns to an analysis of motifs. After stressing Freud's analogy between dreams and fairytales insofar as both use the same processes of transformation, she gives a list of the characters and objects as typical Freudian symbols. The king is the subject's father; the fish, the penis; the weapons, the masculine sex; the caves, the uterus; the dragon whose head grows again, the erect penis; the beheading and the cutting of the hair, castration; the tongues, the penis again; the dragon, the combined parent; etc. Rubow goes on to analyse the tale by examining how psychological 'phantasms' – imaginary scenarios in which a subject accomplishes his or her unconscious desires – are transformed into tale motifs. For example:

> *Fantasmes*: Fantasme de la naissance et fantasme du "roman familial": La transposition par le haut est le rejet total du père, exprimé par son contraire: Mon père veut m'empêcher de naître. Mon père est faible, décevant et impuissant. Ma mère est dominante, c'est elle qui décide, elle le castre. Il faut trouver un père qui soit supérieur en tout. L'image du père est scindée en deux.

> *Motifs*: Naissance merveilleuse: Le pêcheur veut rejeter le poisson à l'eau. Le poisson a le pouvoir de rendre fertiles la femme du pêcheur et ses animaux. Le pêcheur obéit au poisson et à sa femme exigeante. Le roi des poisson est le père tout-puissant qui règne sur la vie et la mort (signes de vie et auxiliaires magiques). (Ibid.: 25.)

Rubow then gives a table in which she traces the motifs in the story back to the original 'phantasms' which originated them, and decodes the psychological processes that gave rise to the transformations from 'phantasms' into motifs: dissociation, condensation, projection and displacement. Her final interpretation highlights the themes of female dominance and male weakness (first section), the attempts of the subject to overcome the mother figure (dragon-slayer) and the procrastination before he marries the princess; fascination for female sexuality with 'petrification' (in the French versions she analyses the witch petrifies her victims), which is overcome by the subject, in the form of the last brother. (Ibid.: 30–34.)

Rubow's psychoanalytical interpretation rightly highlights the fear of woman underlying the narrative. However, by comparing the tale to a dream, she relieves it from any sequential logic: the same phantasms recur without showing much progress, except in the obvious final victory over the witch, interpreted as the capacity to 'see' without becoming petrified. Also, according to this interpretation the twins' functions become interchangeable as they are all the 'dreaming' subject (the tales she analyses have three protagonists). That the brothers' twin nature constitutes any problem is disregarded as the jealousy motif becomes marginalized:

> Le motif de la jalousie est lié à celui de chasteté: le soupçon de relations sexuelles entre le frère 'libérateur' et la femme du premier héros amène parfois celui-ci à tuer son frère, mais tout se termine bien quand il apprend la fidélité de son frère qu'il ressuscite aussitôt. (Ibid.: 23.)

When the comparison is drawn between 'phantasms' and motifs, the jealousy motif vanishes. The author also ignores the relation between the twin's chastity and his victory over the witch as, in Freudian terms, the sword in the bed would be either the erect penis or the failure to have sexual intercourse. (Ibid.: 33.)

In referring to the parallels Róheim drew between the story of Perseus and tale AT 303 (Róheim 1939) Rubow overlooks the importance that the reversal of the chronological order of episodes may have. Whereas the Medusa episode occupies the middle section in the Perseus story, followed by the fight with the monster and marriage with the princess, the sequence is reversed in AT 303 and in this analysis I have argued the logical necessity of this sequence in the light of

the twin's functions. For Rubow the two crucial fights are repetitions, 'les versions avec combat contre le monstre et lutte contre la sorcière montrent que l'une est la répétition de l'autre (cette dernière pourtant sans l'aspect paternel)'. (Ibid.: 27.)

Whereas a Jungian interpretation overrates a 'meaning' in the development of the story, this Freudian analysis shows little concern with a process of maturation in progress. Although the author states that the story illustrates 'le processus dynamique de maturation survenant chez un "sujet", le libérant des ses traumatismes' (ibid.: 34), the developmental stages (from oral to genital) are not even taken into account. In this light the tale – with less logic than a dream – simply mirrors the male subject's castration fears stemming from an engulfing mother and a father who causes problems either because he is weak or because he is threatening. It is as if even the dreaming subject varied.

We are therefore left without any evidence that a Freudian interpretation of tale AT 303 would account for the reason why a particular series of motives and episodes has maintained its sequence for so many years. If its coherence is not demonstrated by a Proppian analysis, a Freudian one seems to be even less helpful.

7. Conclusions

That the different episodes of 'The Beast With Seven Heads' (and AT 303 in general), coalesced into a stable sequence that survived to the present day, can be explained by a number of reasons:

1. The tale seems to have similarities with (and is perhaps derived from the same cultural matrix as) important Indo-European creation myths, which were related not only to sacrificial rituals but also to the whole world view of those societies;

2. The mythical background of the twins' conflict structures the tale in a coherent way, that can be interpreted from both psychological and sociological angles;

3. The tale develops the theme of the twins both in their unity and in their distinctiveness. Though they are interdependent, each of the twins is assigned different functions. The tale's sequence obeys the priority given to each of the twins distinctive functions;

4. The last sacrificial scene enacts the underlying 'myth' portrayed in the opening section, giving the tale a balance of structure and of meaning;

5. Being about twins – an undifferentiated pair – the tale strives to unfold through a series of differentiations, culminating with the murder of one twin by the other.

'The Beast With Seven Heads' is, as we have seen, a paradigmatic heroic tale, dominated by a male voice. Embedded in it is an underlying fear and contempt for femaleness. Woman appears, throughout, as the negative *anima* projection of a male discourse. The objective of the heroic adventures lies in the submission and annihilation of a female matrix which is perceived as negative, and whose conquest endows the heroes with status and power.

A deeper structure reveals a set of oppositions that, rather than being drawn along the line male/female, appear as a dialectic between states of differentiation and undifferentiation. The tale confirms that undifferentiation is connected with in-gender bondings and is perceived as negative; whereas differentiation, perceived as positive, is connected with cross-gender bondings. The maiden under the power of the dragon and the killing of the dragon by the hero which gives him the rights to the maiden are characteristic of each of these two poles. At this level, the negative and positive poles are not connoted with man and woman, but with states of conjunction and states of disjunction in relations between man and woman.

Nevertheless, within the 'negative' column of in-gender bondings, male bondings are seen as heroic and relatively positive, whereas female bondings are seen as powerful, but threatening and utterly undifferentiated.

It was also suggested that the farcical undertones of the denouement of many versions may denote a degree of female handling and appropriation of this otherwise mythical tale, pushing its male worldview to the point of absurdity – one of the transformations undergone by myths when they cease to be taken seriously. No longer sacred, they enter the realm of the profane.

Ch. 5. THE PRINCE TURNED INTO STONE

1. Reference Text

'The Prince Turned Into Stone'

There was a king who had a son who was very friendly with a shoemaker's son of his own age. The king disapproved of the prince having such a close relationship with a shoemaker's son, and forbade the prince to see him.

As they were such good friends that they couldn't live apart from each other, they decided to go and travel the world. They walked and walked and decided to rest near a well. They laid down on the grass and fell asleep; the king's son rested his head by a stone. When the shoemaker's son woke up he saw that his friend had been transformed into a stone statue. He was very sad and went to bewail his misfortune under a tree. While he was dissolved in tears, he heard a voice that said:

"Go and pick the flowers of that plant, dissolve its petals in water and wash the statue with the water. Your friend will come back to life straightaway."

The youth followed the instructions the voice had given, but as he was going to wash the stone statue he noticed that the other stone was also a statue. The shoemaker's son washed both statues and then one was transformed into his friend and the other into a beautiful maiden, whom the king's son promised to marry. As soon as the two of them had agreed to get married, they decided to return to the kingdom of the two friends. When the couple had tired themselves out, talking about their mutual love, and fallen asleep, the shoemaker's son kept watch over his friend and he heard a voice that sounded fairylike:

"So they want to get married! Well, as soon as they reach the orchard, the maiden will want to eat the oranges there, and when she eats them she will die.

And whoever tells of this
Will be turned into stone."

When they reached the orchard and the maiden wanted to eat the oranges, the shoemaker's son pretended they were not good, and they all continued on their way, stopping to rest further on. While the couple were asleep the shoemaker's son heard the same voice:

"So they want to get married! Well, as soon as the maiden reaches a spring she will feel thirsty, and when she drinks she will die!

And whoever tells of this
Will be turned into stone."

They all came to the spring and the maiden wanted to drink some water. But the shoemaker [sic] said:

"The water is full of bugs; let's go further on."

Further on the shoemaker's son heard the same voice:

"So they want to get married! Well, as they cross the bridge that leads to the town, it will collapse and the maiden will die.

And whoever tells of this
Will be turned into stone."

The shoemaker's son went on ahead, on the pretext of warning the king of the couple's arrival. He had a wooden bridge built, and it was this one that the couple crossed. As they were crossing the new bridge, the old one collapsed.

And yet again, before they reached the palace, the shoemaker's son heard the voice:

"So they want to get married! Well, as soon as they do, a snake with seven heads will come in through the window of the wedding bedchamber and it will kill the maiden.

And whoever tells of this
Will be turned into stone."

The shoemaker's son managed to get into the maiden's bedroom and kill the snake, but as the snake shed a lot of blood, the youth wanted to clean up the traces of its blood. A drop of blood had fallen on the forehead of the sleeping maiden and the youth tried to wipe it off. But the maiden woke up, and screamed with fright. The people who came to her rescue arrested the youth and he was condemned to die on the gallows.

As the shoemaker's son was going to the gallows, he asked permission to address everybody. The permission was given, and the youth told everything he had heard during the journey. As he did so little by little he became transformed into a stone statue. This prodigy convinced everyone that the youth was innocent, and the prince began to lament the fate of his best friend.

One day, when he was playing with his little son in the palace gardens, and pointing out to the little boy the statue of his best friend, he heard a voice that said:

"If you want your friend to be brought back to life, cut your son's neck and wash the stone statue with his blood."

The prince cut off his son's head there and then and went to wash his friend's statue with the blood. The friend came back to life straightaway and they embraced each other for a long time. When they returned to the palace, the king's [sic] little son was playing on the princess's lap. Only a thin ribbon of red betrayed the wound that his father had made to extract the blood with which he had washed the head of his friend.

There were great celebrations in the palace.

I went there and they gave me nothing.

'O Príncipe Convertido em Pedra', from F. X. Ataíde de Oliveira, *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*, n.d., II: 358–360 [no. 439 in the 1905 edition, from São Lourenço de Almansil, Algarve].

2. *Faithful John* (AT 516)

'The Beast With Seven Heads' was a tale about twins, with clear mythical undertones. 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' is a tale about friends. It is a tale ruled by an ethical imperative, that of reciprocity in friendship – a reciprocity which, as we shall see is perfectly reflected in the structure of the version we have taken as a reference text. The feminine figure is the fulcrum of the adventure and serves to define each of the protagonists in their relation to her. She appears in male consciousness as an object of love in a far more focussed way than in the previous tale. She is a force that triggers in man a manicheian split between flesh and spirit, that can only be harmoniously resolved through sacrifice.

This story, which I will analyse in the context of other Portuguese variants, including one from Brazil and three Creole versions from Cape Verde (see Appendix 2 for details and a synoptic comparison of the versions), is a particularly interesting version of *Faithful John* (AT 516). The basic plot of the tale type is as follows.

A prince who has a faithful friend (or servant or brother) falls in love with a far-away princess after seeing her picture or dreaming of her. With the help of his faithful companion he finds her and carries her off. On the return journey the prince and his bride are involved in a series of episodes in which typically they are faced by great dangers connected with poisoned food or clothing, robbers, drowning while crossing a river or being killed by falling masonry while passing through a door. A final peril they face is the entrance of a snake into their wedding bedchamber. But, through overhearing the conversa-

tion of birds (or ghosts), the faithful servant has learned of the dangers in advance and manages to protect the prince and the maiden. However, when he accidentally touches the prince's sleeping wife after killing the snake, he is thought to be making sexual advances and required to justify himself. Immediately following his explanation he turns into stone. He can only be brought back to life by the blood of the prince's child (or through some remedy which the prince must fetch from afar). The prince kills his own child and resuscitates his companion. The child is then discovered to be unharmed.

Fairytales of this type are disseminated over a wide area, from India, all across Europe, to Portugal (see Kawan 1992). The scholar Erich Rösch devoted a monograph to the tale type (Rösch 1928) in which he suggested that the tale reached its fully developed form in Hungary in the sixteenth century. In his opinion the Portuguese versions show that they have been directly influenced by earlier Indian sources. But reviewing his work in 1931 Kaarle Krohn disputed this hypothesis and suggested that a tale originating in India had travelled right across Europe before reaching Portugal. In order to explain the striking coincidences between Indian and Portuguese versions, he advanced the hypothesis that the periphery of influence of any particular oral tradition tends to remain attached to that tradition in a more conservative way than do the central zones. (Krohn 1931.)

In making general comments on the tale type I shall rely on Rösch's research. My intention, far from engaging in a debate on origins, is to analyse a Portuguese fairytale in the light of its variants and against the background of the tale type to which it belongs.

3. 'The Prince Turned Into Stone': Analysis of the Episodes

3.1. *Departure*

A prince and a shoemaker's son are inseparable friends. The king tries to break that close relationship because of the shoemaker's lower status and it is in order to remain together that the two friends decide to leave the kingdom and travel the world.

From Rösch's summary of versions from all over Europe we can see that the Portuguese variants are unusual as regards the opening episode. They are the only ones (six of the seven Portuguese versions considered by Rösch) in which the friendship between the Prince and his Friend forces them to leave the kingdom – the explicit motivation being the King's objection to the Prince's friendship with someone of notably lower status. But the fact that the two friends seem to be wel-

come when the Prince brings back with a Bride suggests that what the Kingdom (or what it may stand for) forbids and rejects is a bond of homosexual nature. Only in Portuguese variants (ten of the thirteen considered here) does the pair of friends set off to travel the world without a specific object for their quest – the Bride. But then, as in all other versions, the friends relate to her in a complementary fashion. Their structural positions in relation to each other are defined through their attitude towards the Bride: one of symbiosis, the other of concerned vigilance.

The relationship between the two male friends is set from the start as a problem to be developed and resolved through the unfolding of the tale. The plot is in fact founded on the adventure of a friendship between two men, an adventure triggered by the necessity of a woman.

For there to be an heir, the Prince needs a wife, and she has to be found outside the adventureless order, peaceful contentment of man sufficing to himself – outside the bond between the Prince and his Friend in the kingdom. Woman will have to be found in the wild, i.e. nature, outside that order.

In the reference text, apart from the difference in status, the differentiation of roles within the friendship is not apparent until the beginning of the adventure. In other variants, however, the two friends are characterized as different, the lower status Friend being stronger, more handsome and more intelligent, assuming the active role of protector of the more passive Prince.

In versions closer to the Grimms' 'Faithful John' (KHM no. 6) the Prince's relation to his companion is explicitly that of master-servant. Such versions do not allow for the development of the theme of mimetic rivalry between men who are near-equals such as we saw so strongly in our exploration of 'The Beast With Seven Heads'. In versions more akin to ours the equation fidelity-trust is enriched with the added ambiguity of a male friendship put to the test. Only in Indian and Portuguese versions do we hear that the friendship is frowned upon in the kingdom. Friendship closes a gap that, in an established hierarchy, should be kept wide, compelling the friends to leave the kingdom that stands for a hierarchical order.

3.2. *The Magic Grove*

They rest in what turns out to be a magic grove, near a well, the Prince lays his head beside a stone – and he is turned into stone. In Portuguese variants the Friend – and sometimes the Prince too – is often called Pedro, Pedrito or Pedrinho ('Peter' or 'Pete'), a name suggesting

'pedra' ('stone, rock'), a central motif in this tale type. The name 'Pedro' echoes not only the steadfastness of the Friend but also the ever present threat of petrification which dominates the tale. In several versions an earlier episode in which the Prince and the Maiden are enchanted into stone statues foreshadows the eventual punishment of the Friend when he finally discloses his secret knowledge.

Judging by Rösch's survey of 137 variants, those in which the Prince himself is bewitched and then saved by the Friend are variations unique to Portugal. Besides the three versions in Rösch's seven Portuguese examples, there are another three in the further six Portuguese versions I considered. As well as our reference version, there are two others in which bewitching involves petrification. In 'Pedro e Pedrito' (my no. 2) the Prince becomes a statue in an enchanted garden and the Friend compels the witch to release him and all the other statues, including the Maiden. And in 'Dois Príncipes' (no. 12) the Friend releases the Prince when he gets 'stuck', with many other suitors – like a statue! –when he kisses a beautiful maiden (the Bride), by a fountain.

In other European versions the Prince first falls in love with the Princess (through a picture, a statue or a dream), sets off in search of her and, with the Friend's help, abducts her either from an enchanted place or from reluctant parents. In some versions the Prince faints and falls into a stupor on looking at the Maiden's portrait (Rösch 1928: 98) – the mere sight of woman (be she angel or devil), drains the hero of his strength. In most Portuguese versions these two separate episodes of first falling in love and then finding the Maiden are combined and condensed into one. This can be seen more clearly when we compare them with a famous Italian version of this story, 'The Raven', in Basile's *Pentamerone* (Day IV, Tale 9. 1932, II: 72–80). In that story the Prince, on beholding the statue of the Princess, is transfixed by love, 'like' a statue himself: 'for a time he formed a counterpart to the stone and looked like a marble statue making love to the other marble'. In our tale this simile is pushed to its limit in true fairytale style: the Prince actually becomes a statue, feelings are literally objectified in images which string themselves together to form the plot, in metonymic contiguity.

In a number of Portuguese versions the place or means of bewitchment is connected with water. If it is clear what the dangers of becoming trapped in stone are, those connected with water are ambiguous. The rewards and dangers associated with wells, springs and fountains are well-known in world folklore, from aboriginal Australia (Warner 1957: 250–259) to early medieval Europe with its legend of Melusine. The grotto and fountain of Lourdes are a Christian rendering of this vast lore. Such sites are always female symbols, mouths of

the Earth to her underground womb (Durand 1984: 103–122). In Portugal there is a particular mythology surrounding the figures of 'Mouras Encantadas', 'enchanted Moorish maidens', in form half snake half woman, who are found near wells (or stones). But symbols at large risk misinterpretation if separated from their context. We can, at most, generalize that in fairytales vast expanses of water – rivers, lakes, the sea – mark the threshold of a different world. And we can take it for granted that if a well is mentioned, a change will take place: it is either a passage to a world of enchantment, or its water will be the vehicle of transformation. In the various versions of *The Three Oranges* (AT 408) the well fulfills these two functions. It is from a well (or a river) that the hero gives the maiden the water that will keep her from dying; it is near a well that the black woman discovers and transforms the maiden into a dove. In non-Portuguese versions, the villain throws the maiden into a well where she becomes a fish, or a duck.

In our version the water from the well will bring the Prince back to life, along with the Maiden but later in the story drinking water from another spring will threaten the Maiden's life. In 'Os Dois Príncipes' (my no. 12), the scene of bewitchment mentioned earlier takes place by a fountain. In 'Pedro e o Príncipe' (no. 5) the Prince is enchanted in the garden of an old palace, about which the Friend is informed by some nearby washerwomen, who in fact are witches. Women encountered near water are frequently ominous in fairytales. In the medieval Portuguese *Cantigas de Amigo* – poems in which the singing subject is feminine – we find two distinctive situations when the girl is by the water: in the 'cantigas' of Pero Meogo, for instance, the river where she is washing her hair or her clothes is the meeting place for a secret amorous encounter (Torres 1977: 359–360). In a 'marinha' of Martim Codax, on the other hand, she invites her sisters or all women in love to bathe in the sea (Torres 1977: 159). Though both song types are charged with erotic imagery they differ in that, whereas the lover is often actually met in the river songs, the sea is a space where a woman longs for her lover or watches him from afar, but where she actually meets or relates to other women. In fairytales this ambiguous erotic halo becomes magic or enchantment. Women found by water become witches or fairies who, ambivalently, both propitiate and forbid an amorous encounter.

The space where the Prince and the Friend find themselves – where there is also a tree and flowers – is at the antipodes of the palace they left. Away from the palace and its rigid order, the magic grove is a scene of death and rebirth, a space of change where mercurial nature is at work, transforming.

While the Friend sits under a tree, 'dissolved in tears', a voice comes

to his help. This grove is indeed a place of magic, controlled by an alchemy of sympathy. Not only does the Prince turn into the Maiden's substance – stone – but water, the substance of the Friend's tears, responds to them and will bring the stone to life. In opposition to the fixed order in the kingdom, this is a place of swift transitions. Moved by his tears, the voice advises the Friend to wash the stone with a solution of plant petals dissolved in water. With this flower water he washes two stones: one turns back into the Prince and the other the Maiden.

We now witness a new beginning in this Garden of Eden. Out of earth, the stone, the Friend gives life to the Prince, and like Jehovah he also gives him a mate, a woman, the necessary ground for more life and the source of all the dangers which will be encountered.

In this shifting world the male dyad of the initial friendship now becomes an unstable mixed triad. The Prince and the Maiden fall in love, they decide to marry. The inevitable triangle that this new bond forms in relation to the Friend triggers the dynamics of the plot that follows. That the Maiden was the real, if unrecognised, object of the quest is shown by the fact that they decide that it is now the time to return to the kingdom, the new heterosexual bond having annulled the reason for their departure. She is the element that turns the dual relationship between the Friend and the Prince into a triangular one. She presents a double threat to the male bond, functioning on a double register: angelic (or bewitching) to the Prince, and demonic (or bewitched) to the Friend. No matter how consistently she may be portrayed as innocent of the perils she carries with her, she is the Medusa-like 'femme fatale' before whom one faints as dead, or as marble.

3.3. *The Return*

During the return journey, while the Prince and the Bride sleep, the Friend hears a voice 'that sounded fairy-like', a nemesis linked to the Maiden's essence and destiny, forecast dangers and impose silence on anyone who is listening, with the threat of petrification if the secret is disclosed: 'And whoever tells of this will be turned into stone'. These two features, prediction and threat of petrification on disclosure, are central to nearly every Portuguese version of the tale.

The Maiden is simply guided by her natural desires, whereas the Friend is guided by voices that counteract those desires which, he knows, will bring about the death either of the Maiden, the Prince, or both of them. The Friend alone hears the voices, as both the Maiden and the Prince, enmeshed in their love, sleep (another ensnarement in nature, not as drastic as turning into stone, but still somehow akin to

death). In his love for the Maiden the Prince is dangerously attracted to nature; in his knowledge of the dangers connected with the Maiden the Friend is open to the spirit, to the unearthly voices.

The way to resolve a latent jealousy – either within the male bond or in relation to the Maiden – is the differentiation of roles performed by the two friends, and this now becomes explicit: the Prince loves, the Friend protects. The Prince and the Bride sleep, the Friend watches and listens.

In the reference version the theme of jealousy is more covert than in some other versions. By guarding the Prince, the Friend also guards the newly formed pair and they, being a pair, regard him as one too many, and – unstated in this version but openly in others – his protective actions will become an irritation, and later be misconstrued as threatening.

The Friend insists in maintaining his original dual relationship with the Prince by not differentiating between him and the Bride-to-be – she being an extension, a possession of his Prince. In this connection it is significant that in different versions the curses are variously directed against the Prince, the Maiden or both, without affecting the sequence of events. From Rösch's survey of the tale type we can see that Portuguese and Spanish versions differ from most others in that the curses are directed against the Maiden rather than against the Prince. Also, only in the Portuguese versions does the Prince start by needing to be delivered from a spell, perhaps as a structural balance to the plot: in a different way the Prince is still involved in the dangers connected with the Maiden.

The Friend, then, always appears as the guardian – and the friend – of a twosome. If the substance of myths and fairytales originates in dream – as is claimed by many in the psychoanalytical school – the dreaming subject would be, insofar as the threats to the Bride can be regarded as repressed wishes, the Friend. The voices' threats are prompted by the fact that the Prince and the Maiden want to marry: *Querem casar!*, 'So they want to get married!', followed in the reference version by a curse aimed at the Maiden alone. The Friend who hears these voices is 'the other' in the triangle. His unconscious wishes would then be the voices he hears, i.e., the Maiden should die because they want to marry. No wonder, in this light, that the Bride is the source as well as the target of all dangers.

The Bride is the fulcrum of a conflict and, at the same time, the aim and the price of the quest. She embodies the path full of dangers and sorrow that is capable of bringing about a new order. If this applies to all fairytales dealing with the hero's quest, it is even more so in our tale. Bewitching and bewitched, the Bride is also the ultimate test of a

male bond, that very bond that was perceived in the initial situation as 'needing adventure'. In the Portuguese versions the two friends are compelled to leave the kingdom *because* of their friendship and, in the other European versions, the *lack* in the initial situation is the very absence of the Bride. It is the feminine which is missing, precisely that feminine which is also full of threats and dangers. The woman is the raison d'être of the adventure.

The plot's perspective is male. On the whole, it can be viewed in terms of man's conflict ('carnal' Prince and 'spiritual' Friend) with femaleness. Feminine handling of the tale does not seem to have affected this basic core. It may have mellowed the portrayal of the Maiden who, particularly in the Portuguese versions, is viewed as the persecuted innocent victim of some evil that has befallen her.

The division between the voices heralding the knowledge of the threats, and the origin of the threats themselves is difficult to unravel. Do the voices embody the spell itself or do they just convey the message, giving knowledge to the Friend? In the versions where they come from birds, and often birds compassionate with the lovers' fate, they seem to be typical of heralds from 'above', where destinies are woven. Their final demand for silence shows that this knowledge is forbidden to humans, who risk becoming forever silent should they reveal it. In this case the message conveys the dangers of marriage to both man and woman alike.

In versions like our particular one, the ('fairy-like') carriers of the message seem to merge with the originators of the threat. By and large they seem to be of female origin or connected with the Maiden's realm. In several Portuguese versions they come from witches and in 'Pedro e o Príncipe' (my no. 5) one of the witches becomes the monster in the bedchamber. This intimate connection with the Maiden's essence also applies to the European versions in which the curses come from the Maiden's jealous parents. She is still the innocent victim, in this instance of her kin who oppose the marriage (Rösch 1928: 114). The voices are perceived as threats and their anger is focused against the Maiden's getting married. They are the expression of the forces that she betrays by getting married, i.e., leaving the state of maidenhood which connects her to them, and which threaten an eternal silence to whoever tries to get in their way. This is one possible approach to the Maiden's story, a story which is neglected throughout the tale and overshadowed by the emphasis given to the drama between the two friends.

The Maiden desires to eat oranges from a certain orchard, and drink water from a certain spring. But if her desires are fulfilled she will perish. Judging by Rösch's survey, the dangers of drinking from a

spring appear mainly in Portuguese versions, and those of eating an orange are exclusive to Portugal (Rösch 1928: 124). As we saw above, an initial bewitchment of the Prince whereby he becomes closely linked with the Maiden is a feature unique to Portuguese versions. This bewitchment is often connected with the Prince drinking water and sometimes takes place in a garden where the Prince becomes either a stone or a fruit.

If water is the very source of life, citrus fruits and particularly oranges are a symbol of sexual maturity in Portuguese poetry (Reckert 1970). Water and citrons are inextricably linked in many Portuguese versions of *The Three Oranges* (AT 408). Three maidens spring from opened citrons and demand water, dying if the hero cannot provide it. Conversely to our tale, it is if the maidens' demands are *unfulfilled* that they will die. The hero finally attends to the needs of the last one and she becomes his bride. If oranges stand for sexual availability in Portuguese traditional poetry, lemons are a modulation of the same theme, expressing a prior stage of contention and unreadiness. In 'Pedro e o Príncipe' (no. 5) the Prince is bewitched in the form of a lemon and the Maiden in the form of an orange, until the Friend, hurling the fruits to the ground in his frustration, accidentally discovers how to lift the spell on them. In 'Dois Príncipes' (no. 12) the Prince is bewitched along with the Maiden and her other suitors beside a fountain, a spell the Friend lifts by rubbing them all with lemon juice.

I am inclined to see an homology between the pair oranges and lemons, and that other pair, pins and needles, as explored by Yvonne Verdier in relation to the imaginary of French seamstresses: pins would be metaphors for the ephemeral loves of young girls in contrast with needles, the maturity of married women (Verdier 1980). They share the ambiguity of so many other feminine symbols, standing for love, life and fertility, and simultaneously for bewitchment and death. As in the examples above, it is the task of the hero (in this case the Friend) to handle the elements which, originally in the possession of women (witches), are dangerous for men and maidens alike.

This pattern is fully developed in our tale. The Maiden's wishes 'seem' to be for life and the fulfilment of love. Flowers and well water were the elements that first brought the Prince and the Maiden to life. Just as the oranges are the fruition of flowers, so the spring is the maturation of the water from the earth, i.e., the well. But then it was the Friend who had managed these elements – called for by his tears – pouring the water over the stone and giving it the spirit of life. Now it is *she* who – by wishing for oranges and spring water – wishes for life (or to bring it forth); however, the Friend knows that this will mean death. He therefore deters her from eating and drinking by saying that

the oranges are rotten and the water has worms. In other versions he brings her rotten fruits and muddy water which she of course refuses. He tells (or shows) the lovers the truth of what they cannot see: that nature, which they perceive as good, can be a death-trap. It is as if whatever comes from the Maiden is tainted with death – starting with the Prince's conversion into stone when in her realm. The Friend's task – the bringer of life – is to preserve life in spite of the threats involved in the Maiden's existence or, rather, with the Maiden's union to the Prince.

The ingredients of magic transformation are there in one way or another – like pieces in a kaleidoscope – clustering in different forms depending on the particular narrator. The narrator of the reference version succeeds in crystallizing these elements basic to the Portuguese tradition in an impressive way:

First, in the magic grove – akin to the enchanted garden of witches in other versions – there are flowers growing and a well. The well and the presence of the enchanted Maiden seem to indicate that this is a realm of female power. It is as if the Maiden was born there, out of the stone. Water with dissolved petals dissolves the stone in which the Prince had become the same as the Maiden – another 'dissolution'. The attraction between elements – stone with stone, tears with water, petals in water, water of petals on stone – gives birth to a twin-like pair. But it is soon made clear that this attraction excludes marriage. If this undifferentiation is mistaken for 'conjunction' it becomes evidently dangerous, the couple's readiness is tabooed. For, once they decide to get married and therefore to begin their return journey towards the kingdom, those same elements – water, flower turned fruit, the stone-like substance a bridge is made of – become separate death-traps for the Bride and, by extension, to the Prince whose destiny is now linked with hers. The forces of attraction – of dissolution – that had brought forth love and life become, in their mature, differentiated forms, the forces bringing death. These forces appear in the form of restrictions, taboos.

The first two taboos relate to the need to abstain from eating and drinking. In a Cape Verdian version from the island of Fogo (my no. 14) this taboo is displayed so as to structure the tale. First the Prince dreams of the Maiden and refuses to eat. Then the three first threats to the Maiden are a prohibition on eating or drinking. Finally eating is allowed when, after being killed, the new-born son is found alive three days later, saying, he is hungry and asking for food, in a 'happy ending' mood. In his analysis of the Bird Nester myth in *The Raw and the Cooked* Lévi-Strauss discovered that the situation or space in which magic is at work always entails a time of fasting – a time which corres-

ponds to the 'raw' phase of the adventure. This tale seems to obey the same rule. Although the Prince and the Bride intend to marry, the present time is really one of disjunction, of separation – the Bride is bewitched, magic forbids drinking or eating. Our tale is especially transparent in its articulation of disjunction with fasting: 'So they want to get married!' is the injunction that precedes the threats, many of which are against eating or drinking.

In my introduction I have argued for a basic connection between states of undifferentiation and for a mode of sexual disjunction, a connection that is apparent in the structure of fairytales. At first it seems that our tale fails to follow this rule, as all the imagery surrounding the lovers' encounter is one of proximity to the point of dissolution. But when this state of undifferentiation becomes an intention to marry then, – 'So they want to get married!' – it is halted. The dynamics of the plot stems from the fact that a 'structured' sexual proximity is tabooed while the state of enchantment – of undifferentiation – is at work. This is an underground rule that surfaces in the different plots of fairytales. Enchantment can of course be understood under different registers, and hero tales such as this one offer a prompt articulation of enchantment with nature and femaleness, and it is this male discourse that is loudly heard in this particular tale. I am simply offering an alternative articulation which, I believe, enlightens the understanding of fairytales.

This particular plot casts the Friend as the austere guide, the 'one too many' who, under superior guidance, monitors the rules controlling this proximity and prescribes the appropriate taboos. The dangers threatening the Maiden are then readily understood as having a bearing on her connection with *nature*, as it is on their passage from nature's bosom (from natural, carnal love) to the kingdom that they are voiced.

The third threat is the collapse of a bridge that crosses a river to the town. In other versions the penultimate threat is that the arch leading to the city (or the city wall) will collapse. The allomotifs of arch and bridge, by fulfilling an equivalent purpose of crossing between boundaries, present the same threat: the danger involved in passing over a threshold between the space of enchantment, where the Maiden belongs, and the kingdom, the space of man-made structures. Metonymic for the town, the arch and bridge are also metaphors of transition. It is significant, in our version, that the Friend mediates between the dangers involved in this transition by making a more primitive, nature-like bridge of wood, which does not present the same threat as the town bridge.

The crucial threat ('And whoever tells of this...') is aimed at the

Friend who becomes the target of misfortune by shielding the lovers from the perils which have been forecast. He knows what the Prince, drawn to love the Maiden, doesn't: that marriage is evil, though necessary and, accordingly, he shields the Maiden from the dangers to which she is drawn. Man is now divided against himself, struggling in the precarious balance between nature and spirit. Nature is the Maiden whom the Prince loves; spirit is the knowledge of nature's evil essence, learned through the voices. The Prince sees and loves; the Friend listens and knows. To the image, a dangerous illusion, the tale opposes the word as truth; the former is akin to love and desire, the latter is akin to knowledge and the spirit.

Were it not for the Friend the forces that had brought forth love and life would now be the forces bringing death. He is the silent mediator between the unworldly voices and the lovers. In most versions these voices are identified with those of birds – ravens or doves who themselves are heralds from the other world. There are versions from Rumania and Hungary which portray the Friend as an angel (Rösch 1928: 97) and Rösch underlines the influence that the story of Tobias and the Angel in conjunction with the *Grateful Dead* must have had in the shaping of the Friend in this particular tale type (Rösch 1928: 154; see also Thompson 1977: 52–53).

In this context it is intriguing that the version 'O Homem de Pedra' (no. 10) includes the motif of the *Grateful Dead* as the Prince's helper when the time comes for him to revive the Friend. This episode could give support to Rösch's hypothesis that there is a connection between the the two tale types, if one takes the helper in 'O Homem de Pedra' as a vestige of what the Friend might have been when the story was still taking shape: someone more like an otherworldy helper than a servant or friend. The Friend's function is always that of helping the Prince to achieve what he wants. In this sense life unfolds itself for the Prince, whereas the Friend functions solely as a guide.

Such characteristics strongly suggest the figure of Hermes, the 'messenger', the 'servant' of the gods; Hermes, the keeper of secret (hermetic) knowledge; and Hermes the god of travellers and thieves (in other European versions of AT 516 the Maiden is gained with the help of trickery and theft). In addition, Hermes is the god who is revered in the form of a priapic stone, at crossroads and in the foreground of homes, protecting and establishing boundaries. He is the god made stone, just as the Friend is made stone. Leite de Vasconcelos mentions some mounds found in Portugal which are called 'Fiéis de Deus', God's Faithful (Vasconcellos 1986: 129). Some remote connection with this story of the 'faithful friend' is very tempting.

The character of the Hermes-like otherworldy helper does not ex-

clude the possibility that the Friend could be a potential rival, as betrayal is the primary motivation for the developing conflict. The jealousy theme comes to the forefront in early Indian sources, though it is only implicit and undeveloped in our version.

The Friend manages to avert all the dangers faced during the return journey and, in versions which offer motivations for the actions of the characters, explicitly incurs the hostility or displeasure of both the Prince and the Bride, as they are unaware of the dangers and therefore unaware that the Friend is protecting them. Those variants show a gradual uneasiness separating the Prince from the Friend as each restraint is imposed. Although this is never explicit in our tale – not even after the dragon scene in which the Prince does not participate in the Friend's condemnation – the plot-line itself suggests an increasing separation between the two friends.

3.4. *The Beast in the Bridal Chamber*

The ultimate threat is set to occur in the nuptial bedroom, when the continuation of this uneasy triangle – Prince, Bride and Friend – will finally become impossible. The Bride – and often in this last instance, the Prince as well as the Bride – will be killed by a snake or by a beast with seven heads. (In translating the Portuguese 'Bicha de Sete Cabeças', I have made use of the familiar English locution, in which 'beast' has overtones of 'quadruped animal'. However it should be pointed out that 'bicha' in Portuguese signifies 'snake, wormlike creature'.)

Many heroine tales focus on the dangers of defloration on the wedding night from the bride's viewpoint. There are versions of *The Monster Bridegroom* (AT 425A) in which the hero, who has killed his first two brides on the wedding night, is tamed by his third bride, the heroine, who makes him shed his seven animal skins. In versions of *The Sugar Doll* (AT 879), the same danger is deflected into a doll which the heroine fills with honey. The bridegroom stabs the doll with his sword and, instead of blood, finds honey. The real bride is thus protected from being killed.

In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', although the ostensible danger is the dragon attacking the Bride, it can be better understood if seen as a threat to the Hero emanating from the Bride. This is a contradiction that appears in many versions and can perhaps be accounted for by an effort to turn the Maiden into an innocent victim disconnected from the evils befalling her, due perhaps to a female re-handling of the narrative.

In his paper 'The Taboo of Virginity' (1974b) Freud refers to the ima-

ginary dangers defloration presents to men, and the magical means adopted to avert those perceived dangers. Sexual intercourse with a female virgin presents a constellation of threats to a man which should be faced by someone older, wiser or more sexually experienced. The blood resulting from the deflowering is perceived as being as dangerous or evil as menstrual blood and this is why in some societies deflowering is performed manually by an older woman when the girl is a child or as soon as she reaches puberty. In his paper Freud refers to a nineteenth century comedy, *The Virgin's Poison* (1974b: 286), a metaphor embroidered around the snake charmers' practice of making the snake bite some cloth in order to make it safe. In the Indian sources referred to by Rösch many of the dangers emanating from woman have to do with snake's poison on the woman's breast or around her neck which has to be wiped off by the Friend (Rösch 1928: 148–150). He also refers to versions in which the Bride herself is the source of the danger: in an Italian version (Rösch RI6) her kiss is poisonous; and in a Bulgarian one (Rösch SB1) the threatening snake actually comes out of her mouth.

The image of killing a snake or a dragon on the wedding night could not be more fitting as a culmination of the dangers involved in a quest for a woman. This task is performed by the wiser Friend; the Bride screams out in terror when the Friend tries to wipe the blood that soils her brow.

The Friend kills the monster but the blood spills where it shouldn't. A common rule in fairytales is that care should be taken that the blood from killing should not be spilled outside certain limits. It should be contained. Much of the ominous unholiness in the killing of the seven headed snake lies in the fact that its blood spills outside the limits, in this case the Maiden's body, revealing thereby some awful secret that the Friend tries to wipe off. In *The Mothers*, Briffault refers extensively to customs relating to the taboos surrounding the wedding night, founded on the dread of the blood resulting from defloration 'which is regarded as analogous to menstrual blood' (1927, III: 227). Briffault also points out that the contradictory custom of exhibiting the 'proofs of virginity' is confined to southern Europe and not found at all among the northern peoples (1927, III: 241–242).

We can now perhaps establish the different nature of the fluids that are *contained* and those that are *spilled*. The water which is taken from a well (a container), in which petals are diluted and which is poured over the stones, is akin, as far as containment is concerned, to the blood (very often gathered in a basin) with which the Friend's statue is washed. They are life-giving, good fluids which are handled by the Friend and the Prince.

Conversely, the breaking of the oranges, the drinking of running water, the dragon's blood of defloration – the spilled blood that soils the Maiden – are all deadly fluids, improperly handled and all connected with the Maiden's desires or with the Maiden herself. The Friend's tears are perhaps an exception to this logic – but tears seem always to be of good purpose in the logic of fairytales. More to the point is that the Friend must now reveal the unspeakable truth, the binding secrets told him by the voices. Like the opening of a Pandora's Box, the Friend spills the words that should have been kept contained. The same logic is at work, for words as for fluids. Pollution is, in Mary Douglas's words, 'matter out of place' (1984: 40). In the myths explored by Lévi-Strauss women are polluters because they are seen as unable to hold their fluids and, by analogy, their tongue or their laughter (1970: 124).

In several variants the Friend licks the soiling blood. In the Grimms' 'Faithful John' (KHM no. 6), in which the snake episode is absent, the Friend sucks three drops of poisoning blood from her breast. In other versions he is discovered with his sword unsheathed or covered with blood, having sometimes slightly wounded the Bride in his fight with the monster. There is always the suggestion of a close contact between the Friend and the Bride, displaying explicitly the sometimes hidden motive of jealousy or rivalry between the two friends.

The undertones of both violence and intimacy in this scene (with the killing of the dragon and subsequent wiping the blood from the Bride's face) are clear images of the Friend's role as the rival who possesses the Bride. So clear that, on the explicit level, they lead to the Friend's condemnation. As we saw earlier in the tale of 'The Beast With Seven Heads', conflict between two near-equal friends explodes in violence when their closeness becomes 'mimetic', i.e., when their roles reach a point in which they coincide. This is what happens – or appears to happen – in the bridal chamber scene. The Friend is found there, with his naked sword, wiping the dragon's blood from the Bride's body.

In the language of fairytales, this otherwise clear metaphor for defloration, becomes an episode with a reality that implies something quite different. In the conflict that ensues, the nub of the crisis hinges precisely on these two levels of interpretation of the same phenomenon. The characters in the tale see and believe appearances – which are the reality behind the metaphor. However, in fairytale logic, the reality (the Friend's innocence) is the metaphor: he did kill a dragon to save the couple. This is, it seems to me, precisely what the Lévi-Straussian concept of mediation, the function of myths, consists of: the resolution of two irreconcilable realities by presenting them in the form of an

analogy with two reconcilable terms. In the bridal chamber scene the inadmissible contradiction is that a man is a friend when he takes the husband's place in the act of defloration. If an analogy – a metaphor – is offered for this reality, then the impossible becomes possible. In the fairytale the metaphor becomes reality and the reality becomes appearance: the Friend kills a dragon and saves the couple, rather than replaces the husband in the act of defloration. The mediation is effected so emphatically that the task left for the Prince will be to atone for wrongs caused for having taken as true the original terms of the contradiction, i.e., that his friend had behaved as a traitor.

This inadmissible reality is, I suggested, the need to assist the husband with the bride's defloration. The logic of the tale's plot provides the explanation for this necessity: this was the time when the couple ran the greatest risk, that of being overcome by the dangers that the Maiden had brought along in her trail. This danger could only be tackled by someone with the wisdom of the Maiden's secrets – the Friend. This last danger, once tackled, fills the room with blood, the unholy blood of the snake. The reason why the fairytale presents this episode as so threatening for all concerned lies, in my view, in the unholy conflagration between two states that exclude each other: blood and marital conjunction, the ominous second blood of woman that is perceived as so threatening that its danger becomes the source of male heroic achievement. At this level of understanding, the root of the contradiction that needs to be solved and mediated is, ultimately, the one that defloration presents: the reconciliation between the mutually exlusive modes of blood and sexual proximity. In the Grimms' 'Faithful John' the Bride has poison on her, in others (mentioned earlier), she has a poisonous snake in her breast or her kiss is poisonous. In the context of defloration, blood is poison.

Our tale follows the turn of events of most versions. The petrification takes place when the Friend breaks the taboo of silence. Condemned to die, he finally reveals the forbidden truth and is turned into stone, as was foretold in the rhyming succession of warnings which are a feature of nearly all Portuguese variants.

There is a group amongst this tale's Indian versions (Rösch 1928: 148) which ends with the Friend justifying his otherwise incomprehensible actions by telling stories of animal devotion: misunderstood by its master, an animal is unjustly killed (AT 178). There are no dramatic consequences involved in the telling of these tail-end stories. The telling is, however, central to the Friend's acquittal. In *The Ocean of Story* (Penzer 1925, III: 28–32), the oldest written source for the tale, the curse is due to the Prince not having finished the telling of a story. Having warded off the dangers from the Prince, the Friend can then

explain what happened – telling, in fact, the end of a story which the Prince had failed to do. In these tales the hero becomes the bard, he who tells stories. This theme is of course developed in the *Thousand and One Nights*, whose heroine is the narrator, Scheherazade, who saves the kingdom from the doom which threatens all its women, by the telling of her stories.

In the European versions of our tale the motif of story-telling as a heroic deed is taken up and given a particular turn. The act of telling is set in the context of a double-binding conflict whereby instead of being saved the story teller is petrified into eternal silence. This not only endows the teller with an unprecedented tragic status but gives the story told and then retold the weight of a forbidden revelation. In its full development the series of curses and prohibitions should be told three times: first and last as frames of forecast and re-telling, and centrally as the avoided events. In this way the very contents of the prohibitions gain an importance that they did not have in the Indian sources, where they were only the means of highlighting the Friend's devotion. The Friend's awesome knowledge of the threat to the Bride now becomes the fulcrum of the story, overshadowing the theme of male friendship put to the test.

It is not so much the Bride as the secret concerning the dangers connected with her that causes the splitting between the male pair. Access to this knowledge causes their division into one who knows and another who doesn't, and soon the Friend is condemned as a traitor to the Prince because he acts upon that knowledge. Again we find that it is the revelation of the secret that causes petrification. In our tale this is foreshadowed by the initial petrification of the Prince that started the whole process of separation between the two. Jealousy may be the psychological foundation upon which contrapuntal themes of trust and fidelity are developed, but it is the secret of the Maiden's nature that provides the structural grid for the tale in its fully developed form.

What is this Medusa-like truth that, when told, petrifies the Friend? He reveals the secret of death lingering behind the Maiden's desires, the dangers in bringing her from nature to the kingdom and he reveals the existence of the dragon that materialized as the Prince and the Bride were about to fulfil their union. But we can also choose to hear of the dangers involved in conjoining man and woman when she is under the 'power of the dragon', that is, when she has not been released from a state of enchantment – or sexual unavailability. These appear (according to the different versions) as kinship ties or as a bondage to witches or fairy-like beings, i.e., a female league whose magic is intent on preventing marriage. He reveals the difficulty, dra-

matically displayed by the 'dragon' of defloration, that exists in bringing a woman from a phase of disjunction (or a state of impermanence) to a state of conjunction (the permanence implied in marriage). At either level, he is punished for spelling out the nature of woman's secrets.

3.4.1. *The Fight Between Flesh and Spirit*

The analysis can be approached along the well-established axis woman /nature, man /culture, with its inevitable corollaries – the one which is more explicit in these tales. In the stories both of the *Grateful Dead* and the Tobias Legend the polarity spirit-flesh is made obvious by the fact that it is an Angel's task to overcome the bride whose forces are so lethal that seven of her husbands have been killed on their wedding night. Rösch points out that it is precisely in those versions where the Friend has supernatural powers that the dangers are more directly connected with the Maiden. They very often derive from her, thus establishing an antithetical correlation between two supernatural realities at odds with each other. It is as if the dragon who will be finally overcome in the bedchamber scene had been present from the beginning and met his match in the Friend.

The Prince is first bewitched into whatever matter the Maiden herself is imprisoned. Once both are delivered by the Shoemaker's Son, the Prince continues to be immersed in the Maiden's love, sleeping as she sleeps, is closer to nature by being imprisoned in the body. This is in contrast with the Friend who is awake and so hears the warning voices. The dangers predicted by the voices concern the Maiden's natural impulses – those of eating and drinking – which it is his task to restrain. He also prevents the lovers from the crossing of the bridge, i. e., from thoughtlessly crossing the boundary between nature where she was found to the home of the two male friends – the kingdom, civilization. Finally, the Maiden's marriage to the Prince – the inheritor of the kingdom – will cause her to be killed by a dragon. Whenever the lovers would act, the Friend stands in the way and forbids.

The Maiden is contagious matter, then contagious sleeping flesh, then flesh in danger because of its impending alliance to the world of the Prince ('So they want to get married!') and because of its approach to that world (the bridge, the arch of the city gate). The matter, nature, flesh which the Maiden embodies are finally subdued. When the dragon is killed flesh is redeemed and, in the sequence of events, the fruit of her union with the Prince can be itself redeeming. She is an Eve redeemed by a hero and providing a redeeming son by another hero – a son that will fulfil the alliance between the two worlds of spirit and

flesh, necessity and pleasure. The two friends are after all complementary in the achievement of this alliance which, to be fully brought to light, needs them both alive in the end. A balance requires that both friends be alive and interactive. Equidistant from each other, both petrifications mean not only a loss but an unbalance needing to be restored.

3.5. *The Sacrifice*

Once the last, crucial danger surrounding the Maiden is overcome, and the Bride is fully 'tamed', fully accessible, the Friend's function as helper is fulfilled and he could logically disappear. But in fact the kernel of the plot is still unresolved. As is normal, our tale goes on beyond that marriage which is the usual triumphantly happy ending of fairytales. For this is the tale of two friends and of how their friendship survives the tests that threaten it; or of how a male dyad, perceived as incomplete, stale or unwanted, can develop through the presence of a woman who destabilizes and triangulates the relationship.

The Prince lost his better self due to his union with the Maiden, by falling prey to nature's desires, which were just as perishable as the Maiden herself. In the place of his unperishable knowing spirit there is now a statue; not a recumbant stone such as the Prince had become when he had laid beside the petrified Maiden but a standing one, like a betyl, the 'house of god', the phallic symbol of power.

As the Friend turns to stone the Prince is inconsolable – and in many versions the Bride is explicitly inconsolable too: Prince and Bride now form a second twosome but, once again, a twosome suffering a lack.

The story tells us that when the Prince was once playing with his son in the garden of the palace he pointed out the statue of his friend and heard a voice say "If you want your friend to be brought back to life, cut your son's neck and wash the stone statue with his blood." It is the Prince who now hears a voice that tests his character, therefore acquiring the kind of knowledge and function that had belonged to the Friend. He does not hesitate and kills the child straightaway, an act as incomprehensible to outsiders as the previous acts of his Friend. By sacrificing his son for his Friend, acting in accordance with a secret knowledge, the *hermetic* knowledge once possessed by the Hermes-like Friend, the Prince too gains the status of a hero.

The hero in fairytales cannot be doomed or unworthy; indeed he can only be unworthy if the fairytale is in a jocular mode, not in this

tale which takes itself so seriously in its ethical undertones. Up to this point the hero was the helper but he is doomed; and the Prince who receives the final boon of marrying the Maiden does not deserve it, as he has failed his friend. Only without him can he become a hero – precisely because the other is not there to fulfil this function for him. It is the Prince who now listens to the voice that will make him a hero – through the blood of his son.

The heroic definition of each of the tale's two male protagonists can now be better outlined.

The Indian tale 'Rama and Luxman' (Frere 1889: 50–59, no. V) reserves the heroic role for Luxman, the helper. Rama does not have to sacrifice his son; all he will have to do is patiently wait until the baby touches the statue, bringing it back to life. In Coelho's 'Pedro e Pedrito' (my no. 8) the Prince uses his own blood to revive his Friend, an act of self-sacrifice which turns the Prince himself into a statue: the Friend then revives the Prince by killing a beast with seven heads and bathing the Prince's statue in its blood. In this instance both become heroes. But the bulk of tales belonging to this type require the sacrifice of the Prince's son by washing the stone statue with the child's blood. The image of the sacrificial blood of a child – the first born – on a stone suggests a very ancient scenario. A scenario in which the bringer of life, the protector – the ancestor – would have been once killed, and the sacred stone which stands for him would be ritually anointed with the blood of sacrificial victims. This is a possible original reality lurking behind the fairytale.

The central figure in the plot is no doubt the Shoemaker's Son. However one is not prevented from perceiving the Prince's adventure as the core of the narrative. In our tale the Friend, torn between his devotion and his safety, is finally caught in a double-bind that at first seems to turn him into the central hero of the story. In fact Indian sources connected with this tale focus solely on the figure of the Friend and on his devotion.

In order to define the Prince as a hero one can outline his adventure as one of putting his trust in his friend to the test. Other versions stress more explicitly the conflict that this trust involves as the tale develops, culminating in the bridal chamber scene. In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', whose narrative form unfolds along the simplest lines, the Prince simply fails to come to his rescue when the Friend is condemned and it is his readiness to recover the petrified Friend that determines his heroic quality.

The *lack* which initiates the Prince's heroic progression may be seen by his implicit failure to forego the Maiden, by not offering her to his friend. This level of interpretation is not so farfetched as it might seem,

for there are versions in which the Friend declines the Bride in favour of the Prince (e.g., Oliveira's 'Pedro e Pedrito', my no. 2); or in which the Friend first falls in love with the Maiden and then generously forgoes her in favour of the Prince (Rösch 1928: 43, tale RR8); or, as in a Cape Verdian version the 'Rich Friend' (equivalent to the Prince) offers to share her as a 'housekeeper' (my no. 16).

Seen like this, the Prince gradually loses his Friend by clinging to the Bride. It is this level which comes to the surface when the Prince is asked to forego their son (the fruit of their love) in order to recover his Friend.

If we focus on the two episodes of petrification we can in fact appreciate how well balanced the interaction is between the two friends.

First, the Friend loses and restores the Prince, in the Maiden's space.

Then, the Prince loses and restores the Friend, in the Kingdom.

The Prince's revival is made through petal water, akin to nature.

The Friend's revival is made through the son's blood, akin to culture (sacrifice).

The Friend (implicitly) foregoes the Princess.

The Prince foregoes the Son.

After each petrification episode, the rescuer gains knowledge.

This contrapuntal balance also brings to light the function of the Maiden and Son as the silent objects of exchange that form the 'language' which expresses conflict and reconciliation between the two males (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1977a: 47).

We can now determine the hero of this fairytale. The hero is he who sets off on a quest, finds its answer in the form of a beautiful maiden and is torn between the knowledge of the dangers she entails and the attraction of her beauty. It is he who keeps her and at the same time fights those dangers, he who finally releases her entirely from her enchantment by both marrying her and killing the dragon that opposes their union. It is he who, in the process of wavering between love and knowledge is first petrified in love and later petrified on account of his knowledge – or first imprisoned by the flesh and last imprisoned by the spirit. Finally, he who gains wisdom when his sacrificial love melts away the hardness of his knowledge, harmoniously reconciling both. The hero is the Prince and his spirit, the Shoemaker's Son.

The hero's adventure is played out as a dramatic dyad, two friends whose friendship is challenged by the presence of a woman whom one loves and whose dangers the other knows. In Jungian terms the *ego* did not need to be aware of the dangers of being engulfed by his unconscious – his *anima* – as long as his *spirit* took the role of he who is awake, listening to and averting the dangers. It is significant that, in our tale as well as in most versions, the Friend does not marry, he

simply is recognized as such by both the Prince and the Bride, the three forming, with the child, an integrated whole.

'When they returned to the palace, the king's [sic] little son was playing on the princess's lap. Only a thin ribbon of red betrayed the wound that his father had made to extract the blood with which he had washed the head of his friend.' In our tale, as well as in other variants that are found only in Portugal, the child (or children) is left with a thin red scar around the neck, as a reminder – or a token – of a worthy and ennobling sacrifice. In this light it is interesting to note a Cape Verdian variant (my no. 15) in which the little boy is left for three days as dead, and when the parents come to bury him they find the child playing with flowers 'which bore the seeds which produced all the plants today'. This African variant seems to have imbued the tale with the freshness of an aetiological myth connected with ritual sacrifice.

The red thread left around the child's neck as a sign of its beheading is a feature that was already present in 'Amicus and Amelius', a story widespread during the Middle Ages in many forms, certainly one of the contributory factors in the creation of this tale type (Ribaucourt 1989). This source provided the episode of the sacrifice of the child or twins and their subsequent revival. Basile's 'The Raven' in the *Pentamerone* is the earliest written version of the tale as we know it today, the first with the crucial petrification episode leading to the child sacrifice. Nearly all European versions have adopted as the final sequence the two episodes of petrification and blood (usually the son's) poured over the statue, (with the revival of the statue and then of the child).

The general adoption of these two consecutive episodes is no doubt due to the striking visual impact of the juxtaposition of blood on stone – and its inescapable suggestion of sacrificial blood poured over a sacred stone.

The image of blood on marble, or on snow (Cosquin 1922: 144–147), of the colour red on white, as evocative of perfect beauty is a medieval topic that calls to mind the lovely episode of Perceval's ecstasis (Régnier-Bohler 1989: 55–60). In Basile's 'The Raven' the Prince falls in love with the beautiful marble statue on which some drops of blood (from a black raven) have fallen. In another Italian version of our tale (Rösch 1928, tale RI8) the Prince dreams of a maiden red as blood and white as snow.

The motif is often taken up in the bridal chamber episode, when a few drops of dragon's blood fall on the Maiden's face or breast where it always appears as a soiling that must be wiped away. The same image is finally displayed in its full impact when the statue is washed with blood. In this sacrificial scene blood poured on whiteness is

necessary and good. Both contexts are scenes of violence and both use the same visual image of blood on whiteness, only one – the dragon's blood on the Bride's face – is wrong, impure, whereas the other – the child's blood on the stone – is right in its redeeming goodness.

It is my argument that the fairytale symbolic structure can be understood in terms of the powerful ambivalence of blood. But, as seen in this tale, blood can itself appear as a symbol which is then brought forth in all its rich ambiguity.

If the red scar around the son's neck is anything to go by, the Freudian mechanism of displacement can well suggest a castration mellowed into a circumcision, it being understood that the head – or, indeed, the child itself, born 'phallically' from the mother – can stand symbolically for the phallus. Slips of the tongue are as revealing in fairytales as in any discourse. In our tale the narrator, after telling of the voice's instructions to wash the stone statue with the son's blood, goes on referring to that very act as washing the Friend's head – in a semantic conjunction with the child's beheading. This train of thought can happily lead to envisaging the Friend's function as that of an Oedipal father, the guardian and curtailer of pleasure. The unholy dragon's blood can then be also interpreted as the phantasmatic castration of the Prince, replaced in the nuptial scene by this 'father', who inevitably will have to die and become the ancestor. In the dialectic of good and evil blood, the beheading of the son – pointedly the first-born, the signal of one's own fatherhood – would then suggest a symmetrical restitution, its redeeming blood becoming itself redeemed flesh when the child is revived.

I do not deny the validity of this psychoanalytical code of meaning, nor the fact that it may well linger within the subliminal awareness of the tale's crafters. But it follows a train of thought that certainly leaves room for others, more fruitful if one wants to understand the female presence in this fairytale or, indeed, its absence.

The Friend's revival of the Prince foreshadows the penultimate scene. The story is as if framed between the statues of the two friends who exchange between them the gift of life. Except that, whereas the last act of resuscitation is violent, the first is idyllically peaceful. Water with flowers has the same function in a magical context as blood has in a sacrificial context.

At the same time as the first episode of resuscitation, a maiden is released from another stone through the same virtue of flower water. This magic liquid, linked with the awakening of maidenhood in a female setting that in other Portuguese versions is peopled with witches, can easily be connected to a different kind of blood – natural blood, that which is not drawn in violence and has the potential for

bringing forth life, but is equally not sacrificial blood. I am, of course, referring to menstrual blood – the maiden's 'flower' (or 'flow-er') – and would suggest that it is this blood which is the target of all the taboos surrounding the Maiden in her perilous journey, the blood of disjunction which opposes marriage.

In the medieval romance of 'Amicus and Amelius', which is either based on or is a source for this fairytale type, Amelius cures Amicus' leprosy with his own children's blood. It is remarkable, in the context of our discussion, that Saint Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) prescribes for the cure of leprosy that the patient's wounds be washed with menstrual blood (Klíma 1977: 1138–1139).

If one follows the Maiden's progress from 'nature' into the world of 'culture', this is also a progress from virginity into motherhood and it entails a gradual 'taming'. She is restricted from eating, from drinking, her passage across the bridge to the realm of the kingdom is fraught with danger and, finally, her passage to womanhood through her union with the Prince (the kingdom's inheritor) is so violent that she is soiled with dragon's blood – that unholy 'red on white' that needs to be wiped off. Once this threshold is passed she bears a son from the Prince, flesh with the potential to fully reconcile her own flesh with her real opponent, the spirit in the Prince: the Friend.

4. 'Deconstruction' of the Tale

'I went there and they gave me nothing' – evidently a typical closing formula used by storytellers in the Algarve, and tacked on to the end of all four of my reference texts – brings the audience back to a grimmer reality, a reality in which one struggles with riddles that only fairytales and utopias can solve. But perhaps this fairytale reflects the grimness of a worldview that in turn permeates reality. This is an ethical tale, with none of the crudeness that we found in 'The Beast With Seven Heads'. It is sophisticated, well-achieved, refined along generations since its probable beginnings in India. But throughout my analysis I have wrestled with the delight of unfolding the complexity of its harmonious structure and, in the process, with 'deconstructing' the implacable ideology that hides behind it. Feminine handling of the tale must have mellowed the traits of the heroine so as to portray her as an innocent victim, and is likely to have changed the space of enchantment into an idyllic magic grove. The plot, however, was left intact and, if anything, seems to have increased in harshness.

Whereas in most European versions the sacrificial act of the child by the Prince is an obligatory episode, in the Indian version 'Rama and

Luxman' the child alone accomplishes the miracle of depetrifying the Friend, just by touching the stone (Frere 1889: 59). This implies that woman's life-giving function redeems her from past evils, and that its outcome is capable of bringing about the reconcilliation between the two estranged spheres of man. Not so with the tale as it has now crystallized in European lore.

I shall take up our tale's plot from the point when a child is born and briefly examine it solely from the perspective of its ideology.

A voice tells the Prince what he must do to atone for having surrendered his love to the Maiden and frozen to stone his higher judgement. The Prince hears the voice when he is telling his son about the lost Friend and indicating the stone. In another open space, the palace garden, there is now a triad: the father, the son and the spirit imprisoned in stone. Linking the three, the voice leading to the sacrifice is heard: the father should kill his son (the Bride's phallic flesh) and wash the Friend's phallic stone (the Hermes-like priapus) with the son's blood. Just as the Friend had washed the Prince's statue with flower water (the life-giving extension of his tears). Unholy dragon's blood had already been spilled and only blood, the liquid of the living fruit of the Prince's union with the Maiden, would do.

The exchange between the two friends was now perfectly reciprocal: The Friend had brought to life the Prince who had become one with the Maiden, in stone; the Prince would now bring his Friend to life with the product of his union with the Maiden, in flesh. Seen as an atonement for the blood spilled in the nuptial chamber, this sacrificial blood is now carefully shed over the statue. Many versions mention a basin on which the blood should be contained; this powerfully suggests that it is a ritual killing, or a sacrifice. Soon the Friend is brought to life by the Prince through his son. The mysteries of life and death are now firmly in the hands of men (just as they were when, in 'The Beast With Seven Heads' the heroes appropriate the life-giving potion from the witch). Lévi-Strauss's theory of exchange is confirmed here. The tale is structured along the exchanges between the two friends, with the Bride and her child as the means to effect this 'dialogue' between men.

The Maiden's life wishes were death traps and had to be shown as such by the Friend. The oranges were said to be rotten, the water was said to be full of worms. Her child had to be killed if the Friend's spirit was to rejoin the Prince. Only then could the child be born anew, after the reunion of the two friends, his carnal and his spiritual fathers. Man was at last made whole and the Prince now had an heir who had been reborn through being cleansed of his mother's natural birth-giving through being sacrificed to the Friend. The name Pedro for the Friend

(and, indeed, often for the Prince also) could also suggest that of St Peter, the Stone ('pedra' in Portuguese) upon which Christ's Church was built (Gospel of St. Matthew 16, 18–20). The Prince and the Friend are, likewise, the founders of a new order, built upon the sacrificial blood of the son, on the Stone. The Prince's sacrifice of his son in obedience to the voices telling him how to restore his Friend is also strongly evocative of Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac so as to renew man's alliance with God.

The feminine scenario is there, before both petrifications. First, in the genesis-like scene by the well, when all elements of nature are assembled in a magic grove, the scene where woman first emerges. An then, after the dragon scene, when all is told about the Maiden's mysteries. But, precisely, those two scenarios lead to the petrification of respectively the Prince and the Friend. And petrification, as we saw, means the absence of life fluids – death. Man becomes whole again through the exchanges of fluids between the Prince and the Friend, each coming to life through the other's doing and woman and her child become nothing but the means through which men exchange their own magic of life. It is a tale not only of love between two friends, but of the exchange of life fluids between them, which counteract the deadly danger of woman.

The implication is that life may come from nature as it does from woman; but this is wild, unredeemed life. It needs to be corrected, to be made whole and good through man's own magic or sacrifice. First his tears (his own fluid) conjure the magic of nature's fluids. Then the woman's child – her fluids tainted perhaps with dragon's blood – is reshaped by man to recapture the spirit into life. In two Portuguese versions (my nos. 2 and 17) the Prince dreams of the means to bring the Friend back to life the night before his wife gives birth to a son. It is, therefore, the blood of a new-born child that saves the Friend. It is not difficult to see in this blood a displacement of the blood a woman sheds in childbirth appropriated and transmuted into the blood of heroism and violence for the benefit of the spirit. The tale provides a graphic illustration of a recent analysis of contemporary Islamic rituals in Morocco: 'The sacrifice myth and practice build a reality in which males give birth to that which seems eternal and enduring, in contrast with females who give birth to that which is temporal and limiting' (Combs-Schilling 1989: 243).

Of all the fairytales that I have read so far, none is more formidably misogynist than this one, in the glorification of male homosexual spirituality set against woman and heterosexual love. Though denied on the explicit level – accounted for perhaps by women's handling of the tale –, the implicit message is that woman – this 'leaky container' – is

the source of all dangers.

With its fear and contempt of feminine values, the tale is led to the logical absurdity that killing brings life, whereas natural fertility brings death – the ideology at the root of the main monotheistic religions. I leave the last word to an author whose interpretation of Islam converges with my conclusions on the worldview that informs 'The Prince Turned Into Stone':

> L'on ne peut comprendre l'attitude fondamentalement misogyne du sacré qu'en le resituant dans la lutte pour le pouvoir que Dieu, corps abstrait, et la femme, corps concret, mènent quotidiennement. Le sacré peut être interprété à la limite comme une expérience homosexuelle. C'est la tentative du principe masculin de s'autoféconder si l'on considère le Dieu monotheiste comme une projection de l'homme terrestre. (Sabbah 1982: 187.)

5. Conclusions

Like 'The Beast With Seven Heads', 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' is a masculine tale with a double heroic role. The mimetic rivalry which was played out in the previous tale between identical brothers (kin), is here developed in terms of a friendship conflict, and it refines the ambiguity between appearance and reality which was merely stated in the first tale. We saw that the differentiation between the roles of protector (the Friend) and protected (the Prince) draws the two friends apart because, paradoxically, it acquires the appearance of a coincidence of roles. This is clearly seen in the episode of the nuptial chamber when the Friend seems to take the place of the husband. Under such a perspective this episode is equivalent, in 'The Beast With Seven Heads', to that in which the twin sleeps with the hero's wife, but with a chastity sword between them. Both incidents lead to the unjust demise of the helping party, and in both tales the last section is devoted to restoration of this misdeed. But whereas in 'The Beast With Seven Heads' the hero quickly finds the means of restoring his brother to life, in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' this involves an act of moral reparation that is necessary to balance the heroic roles, this being one aspect of the visible symmetry of the tale's structure.

We showed how the Maiden functioned as the axis around which the conflict was spun and then how she was used (through her son) for the resolution of this conflict.

The tale was viewed in terms of a conflict between nature and culture, identifying woman with nature and man with culture, with the final 'cultural' sacrifice redeeming the flaws of nature. But we

showed that the sphere of nature could also be viewed in terms of a state of sexual disjunction, appearing as the taboos surrounding the woman with the intention of preventing her from marrying and as the beast with seven heads in the wedding night. I suggested that the taboos and the beast had in common a fear of female blood in its menstrual and defloration aspects, threatening a state of conjunction (as with the beast) or its possibility (as with the taboos).

Following the analysis of our third tale, 'The Little Snake', a comparative analysis between the structures of both tales will reveal that the present tale may be seen as blueprinted on the three bloods of woman if we consider the final sacrificial episode as a displacement of the childbirth scene which appropriates the event for a 'cultural' purpose.

Ch. 6. THE LITTLE SNAKE

1. Reference Text

'The Little Snake'

There was once a king who was very unhappy at not having a son or a daughter. At a certain time the queen gave birth to a child of the feminine sex, a child whom a very evil fairy enchanted as a little snake, a spell which would last until the little snake was soaked in the waters from a child-birth.

The joy of the king and queen at the birth of their daughter soon turned into deep sorrow, because she disappeared.

Two years later the queen had a son and his birth made them forget their poor daughter.

In the country there was a farmer whose daughter used to look after the cattle. One day the daughter found a little golden snake, so beautiful and slim that, instead of becoming scared, she approached it and stroked it. The snake then said to her:

"Take me home with you and you will be happy. But no one must know that you are keeping me."

The girl picked up the little snake very gently and took it home. She kept it in a secret place and, without the knowledge of her father and mother, fed it every night and morning with bread soaked in milk.

As the little snake was growing bigger, it advised the girl to ask her father to go to town and buy her a chest to keep her clothes in. The farmer was very fond of his daughter and the next day he went to town to buy the chest. On the way home he found a large purse full of money and precious stones lost in the undergrowth. He was very happy with his precious find. His daughter put the little snake inside the chest instead of her clothes.

With the money he had found in the purse the farmer bought a great deal of land, and he wouldn't allow his daughter to look after cattle any longer. Thus the girl and the little snake passed the time together, but without the farmer and his wife knowing of the snake's existence.

One day, at his daughter's request, the farmer went to town again to buy something or other, and on the way back he found another purse of money, much bigger than the first one. The little snake insisted that her friend ask her father to have a big palace built where the house stood. The father, who had a great regard for his daughter, ordered a magnificent palace to be built.

One night, when the little snake had been living with its friend for many years, it said to her:

"Tomorrow morning the prince will come to hunt in this area. You must be wearing your best clothes."

And so it happened. The next day the prince appeared, accompanied by his courtiers, and they were all astonished to find a palace in that place. The prince went up to the windows of the palace and through them he saw the farmer's daughter, very beautiful and richly dressed. He immediately fell in love with the young woman and asked permission to enter the palace. The farmer came at once and invited the prince and his courtiers to come into his palace, and he and his daughter did the honours of the house as if they were people quite used to such occasions.

The prince was really in love with the farmer's daughter, but as he was very young he didn't dare declare his love without first talking to his parents, the king and the queen.

That night the little snake said to her friend:

"In three days time the king will come here to ask you to marry the prince."

The girl, who had never dreamed that one day she would sit on a royal throne, was very surprised at this news.

On the third day the king arrived, accompanied by his counsellors, and asked the farmer to show him his daughter. She appeared and the king was so pleased with the young woman that he asked the farmer for her, there and then, to be the prince's wife. The farmer gladly agreed to the request, and the day on which the wedding would take place was arranged immediately.

The night before the day when the farmer's daughter would be taken to the town in the royal coaches, the little snake said to her friend:

"Tomorrow morning the royal coaches will arrive, and you will be going in one of them with the prince. Ask him to allow me to go in the same coach, inside a glass box."

And so it happened. The prince was very pleased to see the little snake inside the glass box and started playing with it. The little snake wriggled so attractively that the prince was quite enchanted at the sight and wonder of it.

A short distance from the palace the glass box burst and the little snake grew and grew in such a fashion that it turned into a hideous serpent. The prince was so frightened that he jumped out of the coach and went and got into another one. The serpent at once turned back into a little snake again and said to her friend:

"I am going to jump out into the undergrowth. Tell the prince that I ran away. When one day you are about to have a child, always keep the window of your room that faces the garden open. Open it as soon as you feel your first labour pains."

Having said this it jumped down from the coach and disappeared.

The commotion caused by the prince's sudden exit from his bride's coach lasted for some time. The king ordered all the coaches to stop, and when he arrived with his counsellors and soldiers at the coach the bride was in, he found her looking a little pale.

"Where is the serpent? Did it bite you?"

"Your highness, the serpent went away and didn't bite me. I had been keeping that little snake a long time, and it never turned into such a hideous serpent in my presence", the bride answered.

They were all very happy to see that the bride had not been bitten. They arrived at the town and the wedding took place that same day.

The room allocated to the prince and his wife had a window which opened on to the garden. Many times she and her husband would sit at the window at night, but the new princess never saw her dear friend, the little snake, again.

In a short while the princess felt that she was pregnant and when it seemed to her that she would soon give birth, she opened the window and kept it open day and night, under the pretext that the room was very hot.

Near the time of giving birth the princess felt great pains and gave a scream. The prince and the doctors at once came into the room and sat the princess in an appropriate chair. Just then they heard an enormous hiss and something leap up. A huge serpent came into the room through the window. Without thinking what they were doing, both the prince and the doctors fled from the room, leaving the princess and the snake alone together. The snake then put itself under the skirts of the princess, and remained there until the wail of a new-born baby was heard. Soon after a beautiful young woman emerged from under the princess's skirts holding a child in her arms.

Then the princess gave another scream.

This time the prince and the doctors came into the room accompanied by armed soldiers.

They were all astounded to see the princess joyfully kissing the child that a most beautiful young woman was holding in her arms. At

this moment the king and the queen arrived. The young woman then said:

"No one knows who I am. I am the eldest daughter of the king and queen of these lands. An evil fairy turned me into a snake, declaring that my spell would last until the waters from a childbirth fell over my body. That is how my spell was broken today."

Then the king and queen embraced their daughter, the prince his sister, and the mother who had just given birth her sister-in-law.

All was explained. There were great celebrations.

I went there and they gave me nothing.

'A Cobrinha', from F. X. Ataíde de Oliveira, *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*, n.d., II: 101–104 [no. 268 in the 1905 edition, from Olhão, Algarve].

2. A Model for Tales like 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'

It may seem strange that the first half of a study concerned with the feminine voice in fairytales focussed on two hero tales. The first, a typical heroic tale with clear mythical traits and no feminine equivalent, was chosen precisely as a reference point against which feminine tales can be contrasted. As for 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', I shall argue that its ideology of male supremacy is in fact patterned on a female syntax. That is, its meaning inverts the implicit values that ground the tale's structure. In order to develop my argument it is necessary to present a feminine tale that can be seen as a template for that tale.

We shall see that 'The Little Snake' reveals a structure which is basic to the adventure of the Prince and the Maiden in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'. This basic structure brings to light the three stages of a girl's transition to womanhood. The symmetry between both tales allowed for their comparison, which will be undertaken after the analysis of 'The Little Snake'

If the *anima* was that which haunted the male dyad, we can now see that the snake – that can be fitly labelled as the *animus* of feminine consciousness – is not so much gender-specific, as it is the root of dark wonder – of enchantment – that blossoms as female potency. It is also an 'unconciousness' socially rather than individually repressed, a repression that dates back to the period when patriarchal mythical thought sundered the ancient friendship between woman and snake and branded the snake as an enemy – the Seven Headed Dragon of fairytales.

Analysis of tales that depict the friendship between a woman and a snake will enable us to approach the symbolism of the snake in a particular constellation, without branching out into the labyrinth of its many facets.

3. An Enigma, a Fairytale Unique of its Kind

The tale can be summarized as follows. A princess is cursed at birth to become a snake and remain so until she can bathe in lochial waters again. She disappears after she is born and the king and queen forget about her after the birth of a son. A farmer's daughter finds the snake by a river and befriends it. The girl keeps the snake hidden, feeds it and always follows its instructions. These lead to the finding of much wealth by the girl's father, who builds a palace. The prince – the snake's brother – finds the palace and decides to marry the girl. On the way to the wedding the snake becomes a huge serpent and leaves the girl, after instructing her to leave her bedroom window open at the time when she is about to give birth. The girl does so and, when the time arrives the snake – again as a big serpent – enters the bedroom, bathes in the lochial waters and reverts to being a princess.

'The Little Snake' can perhaps be called a living fossil. The Aarne–Thompson Index of folktales does not provide an adequate slot where the tale can fit. Its closest 'relatives' are to be found in a cluster of tales which Stith Thompson classified provisionally as 533* with the title *The Snake Helper*, listing as examples three Spanish-American versions. I was led to relate 'The Little Snake' to these tales because it shares with them the initial elements of their plot and many of their motifs: A peasant girl finds a snake (or is the twin sister of a snake) which she befriends without the knowledge (or against the will) of her parents, and the snake bestows magic wealth on her which brings her to the notice of the king.

The encouraging parallels between the initial plot of *The Snake Helper* tales and 'The Little Snake' led me to search for as many examples of this tale sub-type as I could, in an attempt to find a closer match for the Algarvian tale. The fourteen variants gathered (see Appendix 3) – all from the Hispanic and Italian peninsulas and South-America – included one Portuguese version from Évora, but though they all resembled one another none of them came any closer to resembling the particular plot of 'The Little Snake'. The plot of these stories develops along the lines of other familiar fairytales, in particular *The Black and the White Bride* (AT 403) – the basis for twelve of them. In the other two the story continues as *The Dress of Gold, of Silver*

and of Stars (AT 510B) in the case of the Brazilian 'Dona Labismina' (no. 2 in my appendix), and as *The Frog as Bride* (AT 402) in the case of the Spanish 'La Rana y la Culebrina' (my no. 3).

I raised this enigma of the apparent singularity of 'The Little Snake' in a paper at the Xth Congress of the ISFNR, exposing the tale to the scrutiny of experts including Bengt Holbek, Bronislawa Kerbelyte, Heda Jason and Elisheva Schoenfeld who all agreed that this appeared to be a genuine folktale, that is, a part of the oral tradition, but were as puzzled as I was by its apparent uniqueness in kind. It is good to know that a tale collected nearly a hundred years ago by a devoted and disregarded folklorist of the Algarve is now vindicated by the interest that it aroused in contemporary scholars.

4. Female Rivalry, Female Solidarity

Why should the compelling plot of 'The Little Snake' apparently have perished in the process of natural selection by oral transmission when others – like the ones that appear in the sequence of *The Snake Helper* tales – not only have survived but thrived in myriad of forms? The answer may lie in the theme of the story. It never deviates from the interaction between the girl and the snake, both remain central to the unfolding of the plot. The dramatic interest lies in how the snake responds to and reflects the girl's crucial passages through marriage and childbirth. It is a tale about the solidarity between two female figures. Although the theme of male friendship is a familiar one in hero tales – we have already studied two major examples – an equivalent theme is rare in heroine tales. In fact one might even suggest that the tales classified as *The Snake Helper* are deviations from an original plot that became lost in transmission, as more well-known plots, which fitted the initial theme but involved female rivalry rather than solidarity, usurped the narrative space.

One tale type in which female friendship does occur as a central theme is *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twins* (AT 711), which portrays two female friends with equal functional status, helping each other to reach their goals. In fact Holbek (personal communication) suggested this type as a possible classification for 'The Little Snake', as being the only tale type that develops a plot of friendship between two females of opposite natures whose destiny is intimately linked.

There is another Portuguese fairytale, 'Cezília' (Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 182–188, no. 117), in which a princess has been cursed to turn into a snake for a certain period of time after she marries, and finds a friend who is willing to take her place as bride, though main-

taining her chastity, while the princess's enchantment lasts. A Brazilian version of this tale of female solidarity is found in Câmara Cascudo's *Contos Tradicionais do Brasil*,'A Princesa Serpente' (1946: 110–112), which the author understandably leaves unclassified in his notes.

In these stories of female friendship (rare both in types and in versions) the two friends are at polar opposites in the spectrum of beauty while the enchantment of one of them lasts. Ugliness is a temporary enchantment that is lifted by either marriage or childbirth. This also happens in two versions of *The Snake Helper* and, of course, with 'The Little Snake'. In *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twins* the sisters alternate between states of beauty and ugliness until they are both married. (On this subject let me mention another Brazilian story, 'A Môça Feia e Bonita' (Gomes 1965: 125–126), a curious variation of *Cinderella*, in which the alternating aspects of female beauty and ugliness are found in a single heroine, who is ugly during the day and beautiful at night and who is therefore thought to be two different sisters).

It seems as if the theme of female friendship and solidarity has been superseded by that of antinomy expressed as rivalry, this being the theme of *The Black and the White Bride* – the main plot development in most versions of *The Snake Helper*. But, although the interaction between two women is now set in an ethical mode as a fight between irreconcilable opposites of good and evil, it is remarkable that at a structural level the syntax of alternation between beauty and ugliness is retained.

It is impossible to remain confined to the boundaries of one single tale if one is to come to grips with the wealth of its symbolism. No fairytale exists in isolation and 'The Little Snake', in the network of its intertextual connections, is no exception. Like all others, it is an 'infinite text' (Rodríguez Almodovar 1989). Before engaging in our tale of two faithful friends, we have to make a short excursion into those tales of two enemies, *The Black and the White Bride*, which provide a contrasting background with converging imagery.

5. The Black and the White Bride: Female Periodicity

In the tales of *The Black and the White Bride* (AT 403) the heroine, who has come by magical wealth-producing powers by various means, is substituted on her way to marry the king or, having married him, shortly after she has given birth, by an envious rival and is disgraced in some way or another. In North European versions she may be transformed into a duck or (in versions also found in the South) bound in some way to the sea (to a dragon, a sea monster or a mermaid) (Ro-

berts 1966). In Southern Europe we find versions in which the heroine is transformed into a serpent but most commonly her eyes are gouged out. When she manages to recover her former shape, beauty, or health, she is able to show the king her magic powers, and it is the turn of the false bride to be disgraced – this time permanently, as she is killed.

This pattern of alternation between the two brides is closely knitted to the periodicity which emerges in North European versions, where the heroine reveals her periodic nature while enchanted, appearing alternately as a duck and in human form. In two of the Grimms' versions (KHM no. 13, 'Three Little Men in the Woods', and no. 135, 'The White Bride and the Black Bride'), she is finally disenchanted back to a permanent human form by the action of her husband's sword: the Prince swings it thrice over her head (no. 13), or beheads the duck (no. 135). Male intervention also leads to the definitive elimination of the 'black' bride, the structural emblematic form of the same pattern of alternation.

We shall examine a little later the versions in which the heroine is linked to a sea creature by a chain and comes periodically to the shore until the chain is cut, again by male intervention. For the moment let us simply note that both allomotifs suggest the same pattern of periodicity.

The final singling out of one aspect of a duality, with the 'ever after' abolition of its opposite once the woman is firmly pinned down as wife and/or mother is, as we know, a constant of most fairytales. Not only is the rival villain eliminated but the heroine's swinging from 'rags to riches' also stops at the 'riches' pole, within the husband's sphere.

The heroine's own transformation into a snake often appears as an alternative for her period of enchantment – there are two examples in Calvino's volume of Italian stories (Calvino 1982, no. 150,'Pippina the Snake' and no. 64, 'Rosina in the Oven'). Here, the *Snake Helper* alliance between heroine and friend is shown in the form of an alternation between two states in the same heroine. The girl and the snake actually merge into one, whose nature changes in the course of time.

The choice of a duck or a serpent as recurrent allomotifs of the heroine's transformation is in no way arbitrary. In his article on the converging symbolism of the two images, 'La Mère Cygne et la Mère Serpent', Yves Vadé (1986) argues that both are symbols of cyclical renewal, one in its migratory nature and the other in its skin-changing nature, but above all, in the close connection that both share with a 'fertile' water ('eau fécondante').

This brings us to yet another form of enchantment in *The Black and the White Bride*, where the heroine is thrown into the sea to live for a

while. Here the sea, which was meant to cause the maiden's death, receives her lovingly, and the heroine starts obeying its tidal rhythms, coming to the shore and withdrawing at regular intervals. In this 'amphibian' mode she is restored to health (Parsons 1923, no. 78) or given the means to come to the shore and feed the geese as they were never fed before, on gold and pearls ('Oraggio and Bianchinetta', in Crane 1885: 58–61, no. XII). So the sea appears as the realm of periodicity and renewal – two facets of the same process –, as well as the realm of enchantment and magical plenty. It comes as no surprise then to find in other versions of *The Snake Helper*, that the sea is the space to which the snake companion withdraws and becomes unavailable – until the forsaken heroine rejoins her.

5.1. *The Blinded Heroine*

In Mediterranean countries, the most wide-spread motif connected with the substitution of the 'white' for the 'black' bride is that the heroine's eyes are gouged out, and it is one that invariably appears in *Snake Helper* tales that have a *Black and White Bride* development. It is often accompanied by the substitution of the heroine's clothes and/or her being thrown into the sea, for instance in the story 'Um Olho por um Ramo de Flores' (Oliveira n.d., II: 79–81, no. 250 [misnumbered 239] in the 1905 edition), in which the heroine is also swallowed by a whale. Apart from its obvious implication of gruesome and bloody defilement, what connection does this most common of motifs have with the allomotifs mentioned earlier – being thrown into the sea, being transformed into a snake or a duck? Why was this motif singled out to become the common denominator of most *Snake Helper* tales?

Having no eyes is a temporary condition in fairytales, as with all enchantments or transformations. Its gruesomness is hardly ever stressed. The heroine is not in pain – she is simply blind, that is, she is in darkness, she lives in blackness, the essence of her darker companion while the latter performs the role of the king's bride.

In the two Italian versions retold by Calvino, mentioned earlier, the heroine is transformed into a snake because she is under a spell that forbids her to catch the sun. If she is not in darkness she will become a snake, and all her rival has to do in order to take her place is let the sun in – a motif that reflects one of the widespread taboos concerning the seclusion of girls at puberty, when it is said that they must not catch the sun (Frazer 1935, X: 22, 35–37, etc.).

By being blinded, the heroine is now in the unknown, thrown into a different space, just as she was when thrown into the sea. In the sea she

is in the realm of the 'wet'. As a duck or a serpent she is also a water creature, revealing her periodic nature by being 'tidal', moving in and out of it, or alternating between human and animal shape.

Within this constellation of isomorphic images it should now be safe to put forward the idea that the heroine's blindness – confinement to the sea, or animal transformation – suggest she is in a dark world that makes her 'invisible' to the king (husband, bridegroom), i.e., that she is sexually unavailable – menstrual. Pliny gives the classical statement of the evil effects of conjunction between menstrual woman and the moon in its darkness in his *Natural History*: 'If this female force should issue when the moon or the sun is in eclipse, it will cause irremediable harm; no less when there is no moon. At such seasons sexual intercourse brings death and disease upon man' (quoted in Allegro 1970: 65).

5.2. *The Heroine's Own Abode*

It is more accurate to say that the allomotifs of the protagonist's periodic coming to the shore and returning to the sea, or her alternation between human and animal shape suggest a periodical nature, rather than a menstrual state. This impermanence ceases when, at the denouement, the heroine becomes permanently available, 'setting' in a continuous 'full-moon' state. And yet this tendency is curiously resisted in a situation that often precedes the happy-ending. There are a substantial number of versions in which the heroine lives in some kind of splendid seclusion when she is already restored, a palace akin to that of the king, which attracts his attention and where he visits her (as is the case in 'Um Olho por um Ramo de Flores', mentioned earlier). It is as if the hope still lingers of a utopia where man and woman have their own spaces, meeting and separating periodically, in contrast to the king's palace for both at the end of the story, where she becomes permanently available and where her 'dark' nature – the black bride or serpent helper – is firmly out of the way.

In this intermediate palace where for a time, before the happy-ending, the heroine is the king's equal, she lives, not with a husband, but with blood-kin or kin of her own choice. In Straparola's 'Biancabella', the earliest full written version of *The Snake Helper*, and one of the rare versions in which the serpent – the heroine's sister – becomes disenchanted as a woman, the heroine lives in the company of a family of mostly women (Straparola 1894, I: 125–139), but often she lives accompanied by a man who is either her brother or her rescuer. In 'Um Olho por um Ramo de Flores' this male figure is actually the transfor-

med snake, who acts as a servant to the maiden. This sequence in which the heroine takes up an independent residence appears in the same syntagmatic slot in many heroine tale types, such as *The Maiden without Hands* (AT 706), many versions of tales classified as *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight* (AT 313). It also appears in *King Lindorm* (AT 433B), a tale that received special attention from Holbek in his *Interpretation of Fairytales*, where he suggested that the two mysterious men who live with the heroine are in fact her two sons (Holbek 1987: 484–486). It is an intriguing sequence that has had as yet no satisfactory explanation. In *Les Racines Historiques du Conte Merveilleux* Propp has an extensive chapter on the vestigial presence of young men's communal houses in folktales (1983: 143–214) but by-passes the existence of an equivalent women's spaces, simply stating that 'as it is not possible to deal here with the problem of women's houses, we shall simply register the fact' (1983: 159, my translation).

Chris Knight's model of an original matrilocal situation (1991a) – women living with their children and kin, periodically visited by their sexual partners at the right phase of the moon – offers a scenario that illuminates this intriguing magic palace where the heroine lives with her kin and is visited by the king. The happy-ending would then reflect a patrilocal change that fixed woman to the residence of their affines, in a new social configuration that precluded the previous modes of alternation regulated by the female moon-cycles. As we have seen, such an alternation surfaces in many forms in the imagery of these tales.

Though the tales of *The Black and the White Bride* revolve around the polar opposition between two female figures, these two irreconcilable enemies function in a cluster of images that suggest periodicity and alternation. The two protagonists are presented as the two opposites of good and evil, and evil must perish so that good may prevail. The White Bride becomes permanently 'white' once liberated from her 'black' companion and firmly in the sphere of her husband. The heroine's own palace, poised between her wretchedness and her final settlement, suggests the possibility of a status of independence from that sphere.

6. Tales of *The Snake Helper*

As stated earlier, in tales of *The Snake Helper* (AT 533*) the pair of female friends (the Snake and the Girl) are usually superseded by a contrapuntal pair of good and evil enemies who interact as rivals. Because these tales share the first sequence with 'The Little Snake', let us examine some versions.

The Portuguese 'A Bicha' (my no. 1) is a typical example of this small sub-group of tales. It begins with the establishment of a connection between a girl and a snake and then continues along the lines of *The Black and the White Bride*. In this version the snake is hidden in a bunch of grapes that the heroine's father finds growing out of season, and gives to her. The growth of the snake is intimately connected with the fate of the grapes and the wine-making cycle. At first the girl does not notice the presence of the snake in the bunch of grapes, which she puts inside a drawer and forgets about. When she later opens the drawer she finds the snake and when it grows she changes its dwelling-place to a wine cask. Finally, when her father needs the cask to put the wine in, the snake leaves the girl. The growth of this vine-snake mirrors the 'fermentation' of the girl's process of maturation, calling to mind the rural beliefs that connect the 'fermentations' of wine with menstruation and tabooing menstrual women from entering wine-cellars (Frazer 1935, X: 96). The snake's farewell gift – after the girl has put her hands inside its mouth – is the ability to turn the water in which she washes her hands into gold, while the water left by her cousins is only black. Her cousins pluck out her eyes when she is ready to marry the king, and her ugliest cousin replaces her. When requested by the king to produce gold, the cousin keeps postponing the marvel until the next phase of the moon. The snake transforms itself into a man who, with the aid of a magic wand, is able to make trees produce pears and apples out of season, which fruits he is then able to exchange for the girl's eyes. He then makes a splendid palace appear, and the girl lives there with him as her servant. The king visits her and recognizes her as the true bride. He marries her, kills the evil cousins, and the servant-snake disappears.

This is one of the examples in which the snake simply functions as a helper. When transformed it becomes a man, probably because, in this simplified narrative, it merges with the figure of the male helper who in these tales shelters the heroine and serves as the link between the girl and the king's palace, selling fruit (or flowers) for a pair of eyes. But the female aspects of the snake – explicit in most versions – still linger in this Portuguese tale, in the snake's fertile capacity to bring forth fruit and in its uterine mouth as the source of the girl's magic. We shall see, on a closer examination of this corpus of tales, that the snake shares aspects of both genders – as, indeed, it does in its universal symbolism.

We have already noted the presence of a heroine's palace. This is where, in this tale, the snake becomes the girl's chaste companion, a servant. The tale lingers on interesting details. When the heroine and her cousins wash, the dirty water left by the heroine becomes golden,

that of her cousins remains black – a further indication of the contrasting nature of the 'black' and 'white' brides. The nature of the heroine's 'magic' in contrast with her cousins' lack of it is made very clear in this narrative: the king asks the false bride to produce gold out of her dirty water and she answers that it is not yet the right time of of the moon – for her, the moon is never right. On the other hand – because of her link with the snake – the heroine can do just that, her dirty water can become golden: she can transform blood into fertility, which is, I take it, what the king wanted from his bride. The heroine's snake/servant therefore tempts the wrong bride, who is never in the right season, with what she would most need for herself, 'fruits out of season'.

In a version from Chile, 'Delgadina and the Snake' (my no. 11), the false bride gives the king the following excuse for her failure to produce gold out of her dirty water the morning after their wedding day: 'by sleeping with you I lost my charm. It is all your fault'. What she lost in her wedding night that keeps her water dirty is not hard to guess. The sources of the heroine's magic wealth – golden coins which she shakes from her hands – are the snake's tears, a power acquired after she has stroked the snake's eyes several times before it leaves her and withdraws into the sea. After the girl's eyes are gouged out she, too, is thrown into the sea, and it is from the snake's eyes, when they meet again and she strokes the crying snake, that she recovers her own eyesight. The ability to produce gold water (in 'A Bicha') and gold coins (in 'Delgadina') are the magic powers the girl derives from the snake's fluids, from its mouth or from its eyes.

In four versions – 'Dona Labismina' (my no. 2), 'La Rana y la Culebrina' (no. 3), 'La Niña y la Culebrina' (no. 4) and 'Biancabella' (no. 8) – the identification between the girl and the snake is conveyed by picturing them as twin sisters. Two of these tales are atypical, in that they develop as stories other than *The Black and the White Bride*.

One, 'La Rana y la Culebrina' (my no. 3), is an 'animal bride' tale, in which the willingness of the Prince to marry the frog is essential for its spell to be broken. The heroine experiences no fall from grace, because the Prince has accepted 'the frog' side of the maiden before he marries her. What connects this tale with *The Snake Helper* sub-type is that the magic belongs to the frog's sister, the snake. But in this tale they both cooperate in each other's disenchantment. By now it should be clear that 'disenchantment' could also be translated as a state that confines woman to her husband's orbit and prevents her from being transformed. When a prince appears who is also willing to marry the snake, the sister goes to the sea-shore and calls to the snake. This development brings to mind the plot of *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twins* (AT 711),

referred to earlier.

The other atypical version is 'Dona Labismina' (my no. 2), which unfolds along the lines of *The Dress of Gold, of Silver and of Stars* (AT 510B). Having advised the heroine to ask her father to provide three marvellous dresses, so as to delay his incestuous project, the snake then guides its sister with that unintended dowry to a place where she can find a true husband. Having helped the princess to escape from her lustful father, the snake then asks her to call for it when she is married, so that it, too, may be released from its enchantment. Once in the Prince's palace, the heroine displays an alternation between 'rags' and 'riches' that embodies the repulsive aspect of the snake as well as her own beauty. One aspect disgusts the Prince, the other makes him want to marry her. The tale ends on a sad note. Once married and permanently beautiful, the heroine forgets the snake, who was also hoping to be disenchanted and it is left to bewail its fate forever: 'that is why, even today, the sea still roars ar times, and lashes itself into a fury'. Whereas the heroine of 'La Rana y la Culebrina' goes to the shore to call for her sister, the princess in 'Dona Labismina' fails to do so. There is an analogy here between the father who is left behind and the snake who is forgotten in the sea. The heroine drastically severs all kinship bonds for the sake of the new marriage bond, leaving some unfinished business behind in the shape of the bereft and still enchanted snake. The tone of betrayal with which it ends mars the story as a fairytale, as such tales don't normally allow for loose ends. One is left wondering whether, for this legend about the anger of the sea to become a fully fledged fairytale, the snake should re-appear in some threatening shape to bring the heroine to order.

This is what happens in the Italian tale 'La Favola di Ohimé' (my no. 9). The toad Ohimé! – the exclamation mark is part of the name in the written text – tells the girl upon whom she bestows magic wealth and beauty never to forget her benefactor. But at the point of getting married, 'nella sua gran felicità', the girl forgets the toad and is then herself abandoned and substituted by a false bride. After she has been helped to regain her position as the true wife, the girl once again forgets the toad when she gives birth. A horrible snake appears on the baby's cradle, at which point she remembers 'Oh! il mio Ohimé!' The snake is transformed into 'Ohimé!' the toad, who is now ready to die; it asks to be burnt and its ashes preserved. The heroine does so and the tale ends on a strange note: 'E in seguito fu sempre felice e non si scordó mai del sue Ohimé' ('And from then onwards she was always happy and never remembered her Ohimé again'). Once the two dangerous thresholds of marriage and birth have been passed, the heroine – now firmly confirmed in the married sphere – breaks the

bond with that ugly presence which accompanied her and was not to be forgotten. Let us retain for the moment that the toad, who provided the heroine with magic as a maiden, is forgotten at the time of marriage and giving birth and that this entails danger for the heroine and her baby. After these two crucial thresholds have been passed the toad, after being duly honoured, dies and can then be forgotten.

What does 'forgetting' mean? The idea of forgetting can be transmuted into that of disobeying, that is, forgetting rules. This is how it appears in 'La Niña y la Culebrina' and Straparola's 'Biancabella', two tales that follow the lines of *The Black and the White Bride* and portray their heroines as twins.

The snake of 'La Niña y la Culebrina' (my no. 4) tells the girl, her sister, not to marry until a green twig taken from the orange tree under which the snake lives becomes dry. This tale makes a very neat distinction between the girl's life as a maiden and as a wife. While the heroine is a maiden her sister the snake lives near her, in the garden under an orange tree. The maiden comes back home combed and washed, made magically beautiful by her sister, the snake, and there is a little dialogue between mother and daughter: 'Quién te peina/ y quién te lava?/ – La culebrina/ la mi hermana' ('Who combs your hair and washes you?' – 'The little snake, my sister'). It is a magic of maidenhood that in other versions develops into combing pearls and gold from the heroine's hair and leaving the water golden or full of fishes after washing. When the maiden tells the snake that her parents are marrying her to a man whom she doesn't love, it gives her an orange twig that should be dry before she marries, i.e, before she is ready to part with her maidenhood. When she is pressured into disregarding this injunction, the snake, her 'twin', withdraws from her – and the orange tree – to go to the sea, the realm of 'women out of reach' (in which, as we saw, the Brazilian 'Dona Labismina' wails for ever): 'y el día que se casó, la culebrina abandonó el jardín y se fué a vivir al fondo del mar' ('and the day she married, the snake abandoned the garden and went to live in the depths of the sea'). And disaster follows, for shortly after giving birth the heroine undergoes a painful initiation. Her eyes are gouged out by a witch, she is stripped of her clothes, abandoned and replaced by a false bride. The snake comes to its sister's help, buying back her eyes with diamond leaves (which one assumes are the now dried orange leaves). She then waits – the 'transitional' palace that was discussed earlier – until she is found and recognized by her husband. We recall that there was danger in forgetting the toad 'Ohimé!' after the birth of a child as well as with the wedding time. In this version it is also after giving birth that a disaster occurs. By turning the marvel of the golden hand-washing water of 'A

Bicha' into a reality, we can say that, after defloration and childbirth, the heroine's washing-water would be inevitably dirty.

However, the wedding episode presents a difficulty if it is to be understood as defloration. The foul deed that marks the heroine's crucial reversal of fate is invariably undertaken by women, the heroine's false female allies: either the false bride or this one's mother or sisters, all of whom are portrayed as the evil polarity to the heroine's goodness. On her way to be permanently bonded in marriage, the heroine is savagely disfigured, or else put into a state which suggests utter sexual unavailability. This is so in every version of *The Black and the White Bride* and of *The Snake Helper* in which the episode occurs. If there is a level in which this sudden turn of fate before the wedding suggests some defilement related to defloration, it is not only displaced but also cast with the wrong protagonists. At least there should be a connection between the foul deed and the husband or husband-to-be. This difficulty can be resolved if we consider the symbolic overdetermination of fairytale symbolism, in which several and sometimes contradictory levels of awareness are at play.

The heroine is often seen as breaking a rule. In all versions of *The Snake Helper* (with or without the breaking of a rule) the snake deserts her before the wedding. In 'La Niña y la Culebrina' she disobeys the snake by marrying before the orange leaves are dry – before the right season. She shows her readiness to 'marry' when the other women don't – she is beautiful while the others are ugly, therefore arousing their jealousy. By being 'out-of-step' with the other women she may appear as doing something before the right time. She is therefore punished by the other females and has to undergo a painful initiation – again, under the guidance of her snake or, in *The Black and the White Bride*, of some marine avatar, where she learns the rules of alternation connected with her 'enchantment'. Only thus can she regain her beauty and magic. These angry women, who are always portrayed as villainous and duly punished in the end, may well have functioned as a kin-group bringing to order the one member who was 'out of season' and out of step with the others.

Knight's scenario for the original configuration of human societies implies a sexual synchrony among women that could not allow for exceptions (see earlier, p. 39). Otherwise the social system that regulated the periods of hunting and sexual fasting with those of 'cooking' and sexual feasting would collapse. If interpreted within this scenario, our heroine may be seen as breaking a rule, by showing her readiness to marry when the others do not.

Seen in this light, the 'black bride', the traitor who marries when she shouldn't, appears as a leitmotif of the same theme. Similarly, the

unseasonable fruits which are a recurrent motif in these tales, are images which reflect the same reality: in an inverted world that has the 'black' bride married, out-of-season fruits mark the presence of the right state of things and are therefore priceless.

6.1. *What is the Snake?*

The versions of *The Snake Helper* outlined above give us a sufficient sample of constants and variations to allow us to approach the function and symbolism of their basic marvellous element, the snake, in all its rich ambiguity.

In the four versions in which the snake is the girl's twin sister, their birth occurs following the mother's wish for a child, even if it be only a snake. In two versions (my nos. 2 and 8) the snake is born around the girl's neck and soon leaves it to disappear from view to everybody except the girl herself. The snake as twin is strongly evocative of an umbilical cord – the human being's 'first companion' (Trovão 1989; Bastos 1988; Dieterlen 1991). The cord, often perceived as a snake, is the child's 'twin', its daimon, its guardian angel, or, conversely, an ominous source of danger if good care is not taken when disposing of (or keeping) it. In two of our versions (nos. 2 and 3) the snake leaves the mother's womb to go into the sea, a larger 'womb' where it can remain alive. Not only is it intrinsically linked to the girl's nature and destiny, but it belongs to another world, that of the 'wet'.

In the versions (most of them) in which the girl finds and keeps the snake in a container of some sort, the 'cord' aspect of the snake is transformed into the 'baby' aspect: the snake is kept in an external womb and nurtured with milk by the girl, until it outgrows all containers and often leaves for the larger, cosmic womb of the sea (as in nos. 4, 6 and 7). As a 'baby', the snake is the object of the girl's potential motherhood. And virtual womanhood is, after all, what the snake, as subject, stands for. Growing as the heroine grows, the snake ends, at its ugliest, by endowing the girl with beauty and magical wealth. It is the precious, but unspeakable and ugly source of the beauty which will attract the king – the girl's sexual potency as wife and mother. In the Catalan version 'El Cabellet Ros' (my no. 7) the heroine first finds the snake as a red thread entwined with gold in her sewing box. I have little doubt that the teller of this tale was in full possession of the symbolic imagery she was using when describing the snake's first appearance in a young girl's life as an alternation of red and gold coming from inside a box...

We should not disregard Freudian approaches like that of Holbek

who interprets the snake or dragon connected with the maiden as a symbol of the daughter's oedipal attachment to her father, and the challenge that it presents to the hero of breaking this earlier bond for a new, marital one (Holbek 1987: 427–428). There is, in fact, a strong connection between the girl and her father in most tales of *The Snake Helper* which is worth exploring.

In Straparola's 'Biancabella' (my no. 8) the link is obvious as the snake, who later becomes the sister is responsible for the conception of the heroine. It first enters the mother's womb, and she then conceives the girl with the twin entwined around her neck. In 'A Bicha' (no. 1) and 'Le Tre Sorelle' (no. 10) the girl finds the snake when she is taking lunch to her father. The snake hidden in a bunch of grapes is a gift from the father in the Portuguese version. In 'La Favola de Ohimé' (no. 9) and 'Delgadina and the Snake' (no. 11) the girl lives alone with her father/grandfather. The central section of 'Dona Labismina' (no. 2), is characteristic of a *Cinderella* sub-type (AT 510B) in which the father tries to marry his daughter. Such a borrowing could be arbitrary but, in the light of so much evidence as to the snake being somehow connected with a bond between father and daughter, its significance cannot be easily dismissed. There is also a striking relation of authority between the snake and the girl which can suggest a father-daughter relationship, particularly in 'La Niña y la Culebrina' (no. 4), Straparola's 'Biancabella' (no. 8) and 'La Favola di Ohimé' (no. 9).

The snake in the Portuguese 'A Bicha' transforms itself into a man. In fact, many tales that start along the lines of *The Snake Helper*, with a girl accepting the friendship of a snake, have a tendency to develop as 'Animal Husband' tales, that is, the heroine marries the snake, a king who had been enchanted (e.g., 'El Gusanito', my no. 15). Such tales expose an obvious phallic quality in the snake, but fail to capture the rich ambiguity of our tales, in which the snake also fully partakes of the female nature.

In the light of the above we can suggest that the snake is related to a feminine awakening of the young girl which can only be first perceived in relation to her feeling towards her 'first man' – her father. This interpretation is confirmed in the versions in which the father-like authority of the snake is most obvious, where the crucial disobedience to the snake arises from the conflicting need to obey father or parents with regard to the girl's marriage. The father wants the heroine to marry, the snake doesn't, that is, the snake, at this level of interpretation, stands for the girl's feelings towards her father, not for the father himself.

The *Magic Belt* (AT 590) is a type of hero tale that displays a symmetrical attachment between the male hero and his mother, portraying

it as an umbilical cord rather than as a snake: the hair coming from the hero's navel (or belt around his waist, etc.) is the source of his strength. In the story he is so attached to his mother that he keeps on following her demands despite the fact that they are designed to kill him. She eventually cuts the hair of his strength and after he has slowly and painfully regained it, he destroys her together with the ogre, her husband. In these stories (reminiscent of the biblical story of Samson and Delilah) the hair or belt begins as the hero's life force in the umbilical attachment to his mother; but as the tale unfolds, that link is broken and the hair develops as his own strength. I would say that something similar happens in *The Snake Helper* with the girl's snake, which stands for her sexual unfolding, her potential for transformation.

In *Snake Helper* tales we saw that the snake partakes of the same essence as the girl when seen as her twin sister, her umbilical cord; it was also the friend she brought home, nourished and kept inside a 'womb' known to her alone. It is both something that grows horribly big and threatening to others and the heroine's source of beauty – the two grow together as two sides of the same reality. It also provides her with the means to marry, i.e., the potential to become a fully mature woman. And yet, its presence is consistently incompatible with that of the husband. After the snake has left the heroine – having outgrown all containers, becoming impossible to hide – the girl has her eyes gouged out and/or is dispossessed of her beautiful dress and replaced as a bride by another. It is as if the horrible aspect of the serpent re-emerges in the girl under a different guise – she is either visited by the serpent or else she becomes the serpent (which she literally does in some tales of *The Black and the White Bride* type). We have also seen how persistently the connection between the snake and the father appears in the tales, under one form or another, seeming to confirm Freudian interpretations that the maiden's snake or dragon are a split representation of her oedipal attachment to her father – keeping her simultaneously enchanted and unavailable to a partner.

The imagery of the snake described above also conveys a potential for unfolding that goes far beyond an interpretation that would simply confine it to the sphere of an oedipal conflict. We are now in a position to readjust this interpretation, articulating it with all the features we have unravelled so far.

The 'intimate stranger' who appears in these tales in the form of the snake offers a good starting point for a reformulation of the Jungian concept of *animus*. Seen in that sense the snake appears as the unacknowledged side of woman that vivifies and unfolds her female potential through its 'male' characteristics, many borrowed from a father figure, such as that of socially ruling the heroine's process of

development. Whereas the *anima* is often portrayed as beautiful, whimsical, and unreliable, the *animus* as suggested by the snake is ugly, 'bossy' and reliable. This *animus* dimension of the snake is better brought to light if seen as the heroine's 'menstrual' side, or, more correctly, her periodical nature.

The *animus* dimension of menstruation has been noticed by Penelope Shuttle and Peter Redgrove in their study *The Wise Wound* (1980). However, despite the fact that their research focussed on the importance of this unacknowledged aspect of the feminine cycle, they fall back into a conventional Jungian mode of analysis. Having related the *animus* to the menstrual aspects of woman, they reinforce their insight by stating that *'the anima menstruates'* (1980: 130; their italics). Yet again, the female natural function is appropriated into a male unconscious dimension. It is not the woman who menstruates, it is the man's spiritual projection that does!

In our view, the snake as *animus* is the neglected aspect of the feminine that is rooted in the biological sphere. Repressed in the social sphere, it invades the psychological and overflows into the spheres of the sacred to become cosmic, appearing as such in myths and initiation rituals – and surviving in our fairytales.

The snake is, therefore, not simply homologous with father power: it is also that but, insofar as it relates to the heroine's withdrawal from the husband's sphere, it seems to relate to her bleeding; as if the snake is the husband's 'rival' which 'inseminates' the heroine with her beauty and riches, and is the source of her renewal – her magic. In other words, the snake would be the phallic incorporation of the feminine in the imaginary of its menstrual aspect. This interpretation which comes to light in the above stories is confirmed by the beliefs, expounded in Frazer, Briffault and Eliade, that the snake is woman's first husband, ravishing her when she first bleeds (Frazer 1935, X: 31, Eliade 1958: 167–168). In her collection of Algerian fairytales, Micheline Galley, in order to show the widespread beliefs of this nature in North Africa, cites the following 'true' account from an informant:

> une jeune femme très belle aperçoit, près d'une source, un serpent. Elle en a reçu un choc; elle se sent liée au serpent. Chaque nuit elle reçoit la visite du serpent. Elle ne peut plus laisser son mari s'approcher d'elle. Il la répudie. Elle se réfugie chez ses parents, et le serpent continue de lui rendre visite. (Galley 1971: 65.)

The quality both phallic and menstrual of the snake is rendered transparent in this account, showing the incompatibility between the 'visit of the snake' and married life.

At the syntagmatic level of the tales the dyad girl-snake unfolds

itself in the dimension of time, in a pendular 'changing of skin' undergone by the heroine. This is the feature which 'La Culebrita', a version from Puerto Rico (my no. 14), highlights as a visible change first occurring when the snake leaves after being nurtured by the girl: 'Poco después de salir el culebrón de la casa, Maria sufrió un cambio muy grande: al reirse echaba preciosas perlas por la boca' ('shortly after the snake left home Maria underwent a big change: when she laughed, pearls fell from her mouth'). It is a change succeeded by its reverse when her eyes are gouged out, to be restored later and which transform her once again. As pointed out earlier, this alternation appears very clearly in the Cinderella-like 'Dona Labismina' (no. 2) as the girl swings from riches to rags, from the magic beauty the Prince loves to the dirty poverty the Prince abhors.

In the tales centred on the theme of *The Black and the White Bride*, so firmly represented in *The Snake Helper* tales, this alternation, instead of appearing as a sequence in time, is portrayed as a simultaneous change in which two rival female characters exchange roles. One is ugly, the other beautiful and about to marry a prince; then her eyes are torn out and the ugly one takes her place, but her beauty is restored and her rival is unmasked and usually put to death. The false bride is killed in *The Black and the White Bride* just as *The Snake Helper* invariably ends with the disappearance of the snake.

The heroine is the black and the white bride, she is the snake and the maiden – she is wet and dry. Her cycles are not only perceived as tidal rhythms subject to time, but as a sudden switch from good to bad, a split in two, a change that makes two of one. Her magic as well as her charm – her enchantment – is her serpent. In one Portuguese fairytale (Coelho 1985: 146–151, no. XXII) this paradox is turned into a beautifully simple exchange of words between the hero and the maiden 'O que é o teu encanto?' 'É uma serpente' ('What is your enchantment?' 'It is a serpent').

Having left the heroine when she is ready to marry, the snake reappears when she is disgraced or forsaken. This occurs in a situation connected either with the heroine's wedding or with the birth of her child. In the curious Portuguese and Brazilian tales referred to earlier ('Cezília' and 'A Princesa Serpente') the heroine becomes a serpent for a period of time from the moment she marries, and she has to find a woman friend willing to impersonate her during this spell. In most *Snake Helper* tales the heroine's change of fortune and the consequent reappearance of the snake are also connected with the girl's wedding; in 'La Niña y la Culebrina' (my no. 4) this happens shortly after she has a child, and in 'Ohimé' (no. 9) the toad makes a threatening appearance as a horrible snake on the baby's cradle.

We can therefore add that the snake is not only connected with the periodical, changing nature of woman, but also, quite specifically, with her blood – with her three bloods of menstruation, defloration and childbirth. Which is to say, with the rejected, dark side of her femaleness, the root of her fertility. It is that which splits woman into 'black and white' if unassumed and forgotten. It is the hidden self of woman, the *animus* that failed to fire the Jungians' imagination, the 'Ohimé!' that the heroine forgot, the 'Dona Labismina' that her twin sister left wailing in the sea. It is the snake whose story women narrators also forgot and came to replace by that of two rival brides competing for an unchangeable place in the King's bed. It is the enchanted princess whose story a 'velhinha', a little old woman of the Algarve, remembered a hundred years ago and that Ataíde Oliveira fortunately collected – 'The Little Snake'.

7. Analysis of 'The Little Snake'

The plot of 'The Little Snake' begins in the same way as *The Snake Helper* tales which we have discussed above, but it procedes along lines very much its own, with no episodes that immediately suggest other well-known tale types. A first difference between 'The Little Snake' and *The Snake Helper* tales is that our tale starts by focussing on the origin of the snake itself. The snake is a first child, a princess, who has been cursed by an evil fairy. This first – and only – villainy triggers the plot which will soon interlink the snake with the girl who will in the end enable it to regain its human form.

If most heroine tales do not conform to a Proppian syntagmatic structure, this one does so least of all. Neither does it quite fit, as we shall see, the alternative model offered by Bengt Holbek. It is a tale where there are no conflicts with villains and no interdictions are violated. The wedding is just a stage in the process of the final transformation that makes the happy-ending. The main protagonists are the heroine and helper – two feminine characters – whose tale roles are in fact interchangeable, as the two protagonists are each other's helper. It is the outcome of the 'snake helper' that ultimately counts.

In its abstract form the grid of this tale can be superimposed on an apparently totally different tale type, that of 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' (AT 516). In fact, the snake is to the girl what the Friend is to the Prince, her shadow-like friend, her guide, and, just as the Friend requires the obedience of the Prince, the snake requires obedience from the heroine, specifically in connection with her marriage and with the birth of her child. In both tales the fate of the friend matters as

much as that of the hero(ine) and converges on the events connected with the birth of a child. Similarly, both the Friend and the Snake are brought back to life as the unmarried partner of the hero(ine), as if wholeness, in both tales, consisted of the merging of both single and married states. These points will be developed in due course.

If we follow Holbek's method of exploring the tale's 'underlying narrative logic and thematic organization' (1987: 411) and look at it in a global perspective, from the end backwards to the beginning (from the happy results that the narrative line intends to achieve) we realize that the aim of the tale is the transformation of the snake, i.e., its reinstatement as a princess, rather than the happy outcome of the girl that the snake helps. Ultimately, by helping the girl the snake is helping herself. Seen from this perspective this is the tale of the disenchantment of a snake princess through the help of a girl, with no question of wedding for the disenchanted princess. In the strict terms of Holbek's definition of a fairytale, this tale would not qualify as one. Holbek classifies as fairytales only the 'tales which end with a wedding or with the triumph of the couple who were cast out earlier in the tale because their marriage was a misalliance' (1987: 404).

Another of Holbek's rules for the decoding of fairytales states that the tale should be seen from the perspective of the two main protagonists who share the happy-ending – and by this he implies a couple, hero and heroine. In 'The Little Snake' these are the girl and the snake. The Prince serves both the snake and the girl by being there when he is needed, by being out of the way when he is not, and by keeping the rules drawn by the girl who, in her turn, follows the snake's rules. Again, as in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', this is a tale of trust and fidelity between two friends, only this fidelity is never broken in 'The Little Snake'.

In order to show the singularity of this fairytale, I shall now draw its outline, again following Holbek in his division of the syntagmatic sequence into five moves. Holbek devised this method after enquiring into the semantic structure of fairytales. This is both a simplification and re-interpretation of Propp's sequence and it was devised so as to be applicable to tales to which Proppian rules do not apply, as well as to draw out the meaning of the tales themselves. (Holbek 1987: 419–434.) We shall see how the plot of 'The Little Snake' breaks out of such a mould.

Move I. *Initial situation, Villainy, Lack*

A princess is cursed at birth by an evil fairy and turns into a snake. She can only regain her human form if she bathes in the waters of an after-

birth. The queen has a son two years later and forgets the sorrow caused by the disappearance of her daughter.

This is a framed story. The princess's spell and the breaking of that spell encircle the tale which revolves around a peasant girl, with the snake as a helper. Judging from *Snake Helper* tales and so many others one could presume that the curse arose from the queen's barreness and her wish for a child, even if only a snake. The villainy is that a girl's status falls from her being a princess to becoming a snake, being demoted from the highest to the lowest and, furthermore, by being forgotten as she is replaced in her parents consciousness by the birth of a boy. A girl is cursed at birth, then a male heir is born and the girl is forgotten. For the mother, something went so wrong with the birth of a girl that this one became a snake – 'invisible' –, a disaster that was put right and set aside with the birth of a boy. But this unfinished business with the mother's own 'femaleness' will re-appear in grand style when her son – the one who made her forget the daughter – marries and his wife has a child. This villainy will be put right by a woman who is motherly with the snake and finally 'opens the window' for it and fully accepts the awesomeness of the process of giving birth.

The tale starts, therefore, as if female consciousness was crushed at its highest level and now has the task of re-asserting itself by re-emerging from the lowest, a snake and a peasant girl.

Move II. *Preliminary test with donor sequence.* 'The test reveals an inner quality and [...] the gift is an outward sign of its presence' (Holbek 1987: 413).

A girl finds and befriends a little snake. The snake asks the girl to keep it in secret and the girl feeds it with bread soaked in milk. The snake instructs the girl to do a succession of tasks which the girl always obeys: it tells the girl to ask her father to buy her a chest where the girl will keep the snake; on the way home with the chest her father finds a purse of gold and precious stones. On further instructions from the snake through the girl, her father finds an even larger treasure and builds a palace. The snake prepares and instructs the girl in relation to her meeting the prince who enters the palace in the course of a hunting party. The prince falls in love with the girl and the king agrees to the wedding. The snake instructs the girl to take it with her inside a glass box when she leaves in the carriage to the wedding, accompanied by the Prince. The girl obeys.

In this move the girl is tested by showing kindness towards the snake and by always obeying its instructions. The motif of the girl who feeds the snake with milk is familiar to many *Snake Helper* tales. The

brothers Grimm also include in their collection (KHM no. 105a) one small tale of a girl who feeds a snake with milk and bread and, doing so, thrives in health. When her mother kills the snake, the girl loses her health and dies – the health of one reflects and is dependent on the health of the other. The Ancient Greek iconography of Hygeia, the goddess of health, often depicts her holding a saucer from which a snake drinks. Granted that the concept of health as harmony of body and mind was one of the highest goals of the Greek citizen, one wonders what tales connected with this figure were told at the time.

The girl is rewarded by the snake who acts as helper. The father who, by obeying the girl, indirectly obeys the snake, is also rewarded. The Prince chooses the bride and the king agrees to the choice – he obeys, too. The snake controls all the events and the story unfolds under its design, against which no one rebels. The girl blossoms and matures towards fulfilled happiness in the love and acceptance of the snake's rules. There are no villains and no open conflicts in this tale. Obedience is the rule.

Move III. *The meeting of the sexes*

Once in the carriage, the Prince at first is pleased by the girl's snake and plays with it. Suddenly the snake breaks the glass box and turns into a huge and horrible serpent. The Prince is so frightened he jumps out of the carriage. The snake then reverts to its small size and tells the girl that when the time comes for her to give birth to leave her bedroom window open. Having given her this instruction it disappears. The Prince and the King accept the heroine's former friendship with the snake and the wedding takes place.

Move III displays the first real encounter between the heroine and the Prince. According to Holbek it mirrors the peasant practice of 'bundling' (1987: 424), the secret but accepted coupling between boyfriend and girlfriend, trial experiences before marriage was decided. Câmara Cascudo quotes the historian Oliveira Martins with regard to the existence of this same tradition in Portugal (Cascudo 1946: 17).

The snake, which had been kept a secret until now, asks to be displayed, though kept in a box – a glass box – so that the Prince may see it. Holbek maintains that fairytales do not have metaphors, they have symbols because symbols express emotions whereas metaphors are connected with concepts and can therefore be more clearly translated. This image of a beautiful snake in a glass box resting on the maiden's lap for the prince to behold is so clear in its suggestion of its being the girl's sexual nature and sexual attractiveness, that it certainly comes close to being a metaphor. As the snake breaks the glass and becomes a

horrible serpent we are thrown back into the sphere of symbols, from which one emotion emerges: terror and, from the snake's perspective, no doubt its curse – the causing of terror. The transformation of the snake into a threatening beast to both the Prince and to the girl, who is later found 'in a daze', is a vivid suggestion of the awe arising from a first sexual encounter, affecting both partners.

Many versions of Snow White depict the heroine lying in a 'glass box' before she is brought to life by the Prince. A similar suggestion of 'liminality' resolved by a male intervention is brought to mind by the same image of the glass box that sometimes breaks (Jones 1990: 65–66). But whereas the same situation is viewed in a positive way in Snow White, in our tale it reveals the snake in its fiercest aspect.

It can be argued that in *Snake Helper* versions that develop as *The Black and the White Bride* this crucial encounter is covertly played out by displaced actants, the Black Bride or the women in her circle. Here an equivalent situation coincides with the villainy. It is unambiguously negative, as it is with the Seven Headed Dragon episode in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'.

In 'The Little Snake' the vivid imagery of this scene maintains the powerful ambiguity of symbols. The ideas of a crucial threshold to be crossed and of a fearful initiation, are portrayed as the transformation of the snake causing the 'death' of the fainting maiden and the flight in panic of the Prince.

We cannot ignore the humour underlying the reaction of the Prince. Holbek states that, in masculine tales, 'the customary interpretation of this move emphasizes the exploits of the hero: a vigilant troll, a terrible dragon or a succession of dragons, an enchantment, an unimaginable distance, a hedge of briars, cruel tests of his wit, skill, prowess and endurance' (1987: 413). What happens is precisely the opposite of what one would be led to expect, hence, the humour. In this tale no male values are allowed to interfere with the serene flow – though dramatic and frightening – of a female experience of unfoldment, with female initiation. Instead of displaying heroic braveness, the male characters run away in fear. Their value is shown when they obey, as the father does, or when they somehow trust and accept the link between the snake and the girl, as when the marriage goes ahead despite its disturbing prelude.

After showing its powerful and fearsome aspect, the snake leaves the girl just as she is getting married. This was, as we have seen earlier, an iron rule of all *The Snake Helper* tales. There is no instance in which the snake as such is compatible with marriage – which is to say that life within the married sphere is not compatible with the pulse ruling female potency, as if real men would take the place of the *animus*

aspect of its nature, allowing woman no option but to appear as if permanently 'ovular' and 'feminine'.

The same underlying reality appears in masculine tales as the killing of the dragon or the breaking, in some way or other, of the maiden's enchantment. Chris Knight's model for the primal social structure of mankind gives an elegant key to explain the consistency of this phenomenon (1991a: 413–416). He hypothesises the original existence of a kinship structure based on sisterhood who, by synchronizing their cycles kept the males at bay around each dark moon. When this social structure was later disrupted and came to be reorganized in nuclear family units, men's memory of the primitive structure would come to be mythically translated as that of a jealous serpent. The 'rainbow snake' of the Australian Aborigines, for instance, would keep or swallow the women making them periodically unavailable to men (ibid.: 455–463). After this time of disjunction in which women, within their own rule, would be perceived as under the power of the snake or of a sea monster, there would follow a time of 'marriage', at the full moon.

In our tale the snake and the maiden do, indeed, part from each other. But they part as friends – the snake having shrunk back to its former size. They remain faithful to each other and with no breach of trust, on the contrary, in the knowledge that they will meet again.

Move IV. *Second test with donor sequence*

The girl does as she promised, she opens the window when about to give birth, hiding from all the reason why she does so.

Holbek's definition of this move doesn't quite coincide with the present tale's syntagmatic structure (1987: 431), as the *donor's sequence* coincides with the final transfiguration, the donor being reversed as it becomes the girl. This is because, unlike all the tales analysed by Holbek, no confrontation in this tale entails hostility or downfall, as this would blur its unwavering initiatory line. The heroine expects the appearance of the snake whom she trusts and knows it to be her friend.

The study of folktales – as Lévi-Strauss found with that of myths – teaches us that it is a mistake to disregard any piece of information as insignificant. The motif of the open window has already occurred in the two hero tales analysed earlier. In stories of 'The Beast With Seven Heads', versions of *The Twin Brothers* (AT 303), the brothers see, from the princess's window, the Tower of no Return in the distance. In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' (AT 516) the open window gives the beast with seven heads access to the bridal bedchamber. A 'closed window' can be equally fateful. In the Italian tale 'La Serpucce' (Finamore 1882, I: 101–105), a version of tales of 'The Monster Bridegroom' (AT 425),

the hero, enchanted as a serpent, tries to break the princess's closed window and nearly dies of the wounds he receives. In all these tales the open window appears, in different inflections, as connected with the female object of desire.

In our tale the room with the 'open window' is, as in the tales above, an extension of the female body, but it appears in the rare context of the sexuality of birth which, one could say, is at the antipodes of erotic attraction. The 'phallic' aspect of the snake that the girl awaits as the time of birth-giving approaches is in no way masculine. It is femaleness at its bloodiest and fiercest, the mortal danger of childbirth, that the heroine is *open* to welcome. If not *animus*, what would Jungians call the untapped resources for this valiant readiness, this window open to the outwards thrust of death for the sake of new life, the bravura of this alliance between woman and snake?

Move V. *The final part of the tale, beginning when the hero(ine) arrives on the stage in humble disguise and ending with the wedding*

As the snake enters the room in its frightful aspect the Prince and the doctors run away in fear, leaving the girl alone with the snake. The snake writhes under the girl's skirts and, as the baby is born, a beautiful maiden emerges from under her skirts holding the newborn baby in her arms. When the men return accompanied by soldiers, they see the mother, the maiden and the child. The maiden explains her story.

As Holbek points out, Move V resolves the villainy or lack stated at Move I. The princess's curse is lifted. At the beginning of Move V she appears in the 'humble disguise' of a snake and at the end she turns into a princess and is recognized as such. But for her there is no wedding, and here is where our tale parts from Holbek's model for fairy-tales. In this framed story the heroine and the helper reverse their roles, the helper is now the one who has been helped – the fates of both are mingled into one same fate.

Unlike the men who flee away at the sight of the monster, the girl accepts its approach and closest intimacy. By showing herself not to be afraid of the most painful and frightful aspect of her own sexual nature, childbirth – the monster coming under her skirts – she successfully passes this final test of her own maturation process. And the monster turns into a beautiful maiden, a princess, holding a baby, not like a bride but like a midwife.

This can only happen because, in this particular tale, the snake is powerful enough to make men flee away instead of killing it, and the girl is brave enough to trust the snake even when it appears as a

monster. There is ample ethnographic evidence about the dangerously polluting nature of childbirth that made women tabooed for months after delivery and, of course, women bleed for a long period after confinement. They are, more than ever, under the power of the snake. Our tale shows this fear by showing the men running away in panic and – again against all rules of gallant behaviour – leaving the maiden to face the snake alone.

As the initial villainy is overcome, the snake has at last regained her human form. She is been given birth at a different level from her original misshapen birth; through a 'sister', not through a mother. Whereas the queen had had the assistance of an evil fairy – perchance 'closing the window' to a snake turned wrathful and vindicative – the heroine fully accepts the awesome, mature snake in her. Because the snake can now be perceived as a sister, the two main roles bring out fully the double aspect of the heroine: the wife and mother, and the maiden, both welcome in the Prince's orbit. If there is a wedding it is that of both the 'black and white' aspects of female periodicity: the wife and the maiden, in their allied fertility, are both joyfully accepted in the men's sphere. Both are one, the alternation is maintained in this happy-ending.

7.1. *'The Little Snake' in a Jungian Light*

What would a Jungian interpretation make of this final strange foursome of a prince, a wife, a sister and a child? It could not venture an interpretation of the fruitful integration of two opposite *anima* aspects in man, with such an unquestionably feminine tale. Would it then elect the girl or the enchanted snake as the subject focus of attention? The tale is clearly about the alliance and the interaction between the two, but it is more likely that the listener would tend to identify with the human protagonist. If this was a *Snake Helper* tale with the main episode from *The Black and White Bride*, I suspect that the snake could be interpreted as an aspect of the self that would guide the heroine to deal with and integrate her shadow, the Black Bride who is the trigger of misery. Once the White Bride undergoes the experience of darkness herself, the Black Bride disappears. In our tale this decoding of the snake would be more problematic. As the *self* is the goal of an integrated personality, why would there be two at the happy end, sharing their life with the prince?

Let us hear how, in a nutshell, an authority on Jungian thought, Emma Jung, approaches the concept of *animus*:

> Only when woman's mental power is no longer applied to the mastering of daily tasks but goes beyond, seeking a new field of activity, does the animus come into play. In general it can be said that feminine mentality manifests an undeveloped, childlike, or primitive character; instead of thirst for knowledge, curiosity; instead of judgement, prejudice; instead of thinking, imagination or dreaming; instead of will, wishing (...). Clearly, these are well-marked pre-stages that can be shown to exist in the minds of children as well in those of primitives. (Jung 1978: 16.)

She certainly makes an effort to acknowledge the existence of a 'higher animus', but soon reverts to seeing it as a problem. Because it is purely masculine appearing 'either as a plurality of men, as a group of fathers, a council, a court, or some other gathering of wise men' (ibid.: 27),

> It is far too easy for the woman to obey the authority of the animus – or the man – in slavish servility. Even though she may think otherwise consciously, the idea that what is masculine is in itself more valuable than what is feminine is born in her blood. This does much to enhance the power of the animus. (Ibid.: 23.)

The problem with traditional Jungian interpretation lies in its platonic transcendentalism. It deals with mental concepts as if they were a primal reality that becomes incarnate in humans without escaping, in the process, the pitfalls of gender and its prejudices.

As I have suggested, this tale offers an illuminating gloss on an alternative interpretation of the *animus* that avoids the danger of viewing it as the unconscious assimilation of the opposite gender. Jungian analyses view the *animus* as the symmetrical equivalent of the *anima* for man, that is, as the unknown masculine dimension in woman. It is surprisingly rewarding to root the *animus* squarely in female biology, in the dark root of blood from which there stems a symbolic web that reaches the moon and draws it to the snake (Eliade 1958: 167–169) – the untapped resources of woman, her socially unacceptable, menstrual dimension, her 'unfeminine' (but by no means masculine) side. In our tales, the snake, woman's imponderable ruler, the 'phallic' aspect of her own femaleness which, rather than masculine, is femaleness at its 'wettest', at its slimiest, the hidden dragon of female potency. It is that which has to hide from the light and sight of all, has to be kept a secret least it be killed or chased away – to the sea where it belongs. It is the very source of wisdom and of untold riches. In other tales, it is the hag whom the heroine delouses, whose ugliness and wisdom she learns to love, whose commands she obeys and who showers her with beauty. It is the rags phase that precedes Cinderella's eventual riches.

In terms of wisdom, it is drawing the moon's pulse of healing and

renewal, the periodical death so that life may be. We are now in the territory of insights known to all Jungian interpreters of fairytales. But in that territory what gets forgotten is the humble, biological root from which those insights stem, the experiential reality of womanhood. In 'The Little Snake' it stands for what makes woman improper, polluted, unworthy of approaching the sacred – that which does not tolerate the presence of woman and yet is mapped upon her calendar.

As an illustration of my approach to the concept of *animus*, here is an account from an unsuspected source. Inserted in her study on the *animus* Emma Jung reports the following dream of a woman patient:

> The girl has a ghostly lover who lives in the moon, and who comes regularly in the shallop of the new moon to receive a blood sacrifice which she has to make to him. In the interval, the girl lives in freedom among people as a human being. But at the approach of the new moon, the spirit turns her into a rapacious beast and, obeying an irresistible force, she has to climb a lonely height, and bring her lover the sacrifice. This sacrifice, however, transforms the moon-spirit, so that he himself becomes a sacrificial vessel, which consumes itself but is again renewed, and the smoking blood is turned into a plant-like form out of which spring many-coloured leaves and flowers. (Jung 1978: 33.)

If Emma Jung refuses to connect the *animus* in this girl's dream with her physiology, the authors of *The Wise Wound*, who quote the same passage, are ready to call the experience by its dreaded name (Shuttle and Redgrove 1980: 130).

8. Classification Problems with 'The Little Snake'

Thematically, 'The Little Snake' is similar to the tales of *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twins* (AT 711), referred to earlier. These stories deal with the alliance between twin sisters, which is geared towards the disenchantment of the ugly sister. This thematic resemblance offers an hypothesis for classification. But in this case we would be placing the Portuguese tale in a family of tales that seems to be Northern European in its distribution, whereas *Snake Helper* tales (AT 533*) appear in Portugal, Spain, Italy and Latin America, and have all in common the friendship between a snake and a girl.

I suggest that the plot of 'The Little Snake' may serve as a model for *Snake Helper* tales. After a similar start to that of 'The Little Snake', such tales develop into well-known plots, particularly that of *The Black and the White Bride* (AT 403), which, as we have seen earlier, inverts (and subverts) the theme of the alliance between girl and snake into the

rivalry and hostility between a good and a bad woman, the bad one having to be killed for the good one to be integrated in the married sphere. In order to provide *The Snake Helper* tales with a niche of their own a tale would have to be found with a satisfactory plot that would develop the incipient theme of friendship between a girl and a snake without reverting to other tales. It seems that we have found the tale we were looking for as 'The Little Snake' fulfils precisely this need. This tempting hypothesis of an historically older lineage for this tale could only of course be tested if true variants were found.

Such a conjecture would be that the theme of cooperation between snake and woman came to attract its mirror opposite, the polarization and enmity of a good and an evil woman and that this theme came to supersede the original one, which gradually became vestigial. In Straparola's literary version of the sixteenth century, 'Biancabella' (my no. 8), both themes are still balanced, the enemity and polarization of the black and the white brides together with the cooperation between woman and snake, and it still ends with the transfiguration of the snake into a beautiful maiden, accepted as such in the husband's sphere. As far as I could gather from my research, the theme of the closeness between woman and snake appears now in *The Snake Helper* tales whose central plot is, for most, that of *The Black and the White Bride*. It seems plausible that this process mirrors the gradual assertion of patriarchal values imprinting their own symbolic power. The imposition of an 'enmity between serpent and woman' is very ancient, but it presupposes such a resilient alliance that it can still be witnessed in customs and beliefs – as well as in a cluster of fairytales of which 'The Little Snake' seems to be paradigmatic.

Although this tale evades attempts at classification, it offers the clearest of blueprints for a successful female initiatory journey. Intriguingly, it is both strange and familiar. It follows the *Animal Bridegroom* type (AT 425), a tale in which the heroine, by coming to love a monster and allowing its close proximity, breaks his spell and turns him into a prince. Only, with a crucial difference: the monster whose spell the heroine breaks – by loving and trusting it, and allowing its close proximity – is a princess, not a prince. The *Animal Bride* type (AT 402) also follows the same pattern, only with the roles reversed: the prince agrees to marry the woman in her animal shape and she then becomes human. In both 'Beauty and the Beast' and 'The Frog Princess' it is the fear of the opposite sex that is overcome. In the tales for which 'The Little Snake' provides a paradigm the fear overcome is that of woman's own sexual self and potential, which has to be kept and nurtured in secret as – at times – it is perceived with horror by the opposite sex.

9. 'The Little Snake' and 'The Prince Turned Into Stone': A Comparative Analysis

The element of secrecy in 'The Little Snake' is only one feature which invites a comparison with 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'. I shall begin by surveying the affinities between both tales so as to better display their actual polarity. The main tale roles are perfectly symmetrical: two protagonists of the same sex and the marriage partner – two females and a male in 'The Little Snake', two males and a female in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'.

There is also a broad thematic affinity, both are tales about a friendship, both are tales about a secret that should be kept and not questioned.

In order to examine the parallelism of both tales in a syntagmatic sequence they can be divided into three basic moves:

THE LITTLE SNAKE	THE PRINCE TURNED INTO STONE
MOVE 1. *Leading to Marriage*	
The Snake helps the heroine secure a husband.	The Friend helps the hero secure a wife.
MOVE 2. *Marriage*	
Crisis on the way to the wedding with a dramatic and apparently threatening appearance of the Snake, followed by its disappearance.	Crisis in the wedding bedchamber of the Friend, followed by his petrification.
MOVE 3. *Childbirth*	
Climax connected with blood of childbirth, leading to the Snake's transfiguration.	of young child, leading to Friend's depetrification. and child's resuscitation (rebirth).
No final wedding for either the snake/princess or the Friend.	

I suggest that these three moves correspond, in both tales, to woman's three stages of development, marked by her three flows of blood – those of puberty, defloration and childbirth.

The first stage of female unfoldment – puberty and periodic menstruation – is developed in the first move of both tales. In both stories it can be seen to be the originating secret, modulated through different clusters of symbols. In 'The Little Snake', when it is time for the snake

to be kept inside a chest, it is also the time when riches are found and also the time when the girl is told to stay at home rather than work in the fields. The time of discovered riches is therefore also the time for seclusion to begin for the girl. The little snake, which is also a 'cursed' princess, reflects the girl's developing sexuality. It increases dramatically in size at the girl's two major flows of blood, in defloration and childbirth. The snake is the measure of her blood.

In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' the imagery is different but equally revealing. After being awakened from her sleep as a stone statue, beside a well, the maiden is threatened by a series of latent dangers – another 'curse', another secret that must be kept. It is a curse which involves restrictions on her eating and drinking or approaching water, typical aspects of menstrual taboos.

The two dramatic episodes in 'The Little Snake' – the appearance of the snake as a monstrous serpent – can be seen to coincide with the two other crucial thresholds in the life of a woman – defloration and childbirth. The first frightening transformation of the snake takes place in the coach where the prince and the heroine are alone, being led to their wedding. This episode fully supports the interpretation referred to earlier that the first tête à tête between hero and heroine is connected with danger and suggests, on a subliminal level, defloration (Holbek 1987: 423–424). The imagery is quite explicit: the snake, the girl's private companion, kept hidden from everyone until the moment it is seen – and 'enjoyed' – by the bridegroom in the privacy of their coach, overfloods its glass box, terrifying the prince and leaving the girl 'in a slight faint', and thereafter is not seen by anyone else... The snake's second appearance as a monster requires no interpretation – it is directly connected with the heroine giving birth to a child.

These two episodes have their equivalents in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', in two equally crucial episodes occupying corresponding motifemic slots. First, the eruption of the seven headed beast into the bride's chamber on the wedding night offers a more conventional suggestion of defloration because of the time and place in which it occurs. Secondly, the child's beheading: in this story the actual birth of the child from its mother is played down in favour of an equally bloody final episode, after which the child is found to have been reborn. However, in some versions (e.g., nos. 2 and 17 of 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' in Appendix 2), the Prince washes the statue with the blood of his newborn child, following a dream he has on the eve of its birth. Here the displacement of birth blood into sacrifice blood is even more transparent.

The presence of crucial female sheddings of blood in each of our tales can therefore be comprehended as follows:

THE LITTLE SNAKE	THE PRINCE TURNED INTO STONE
Menstruation	
Maiden turned by curse into snake, which is kept secretly in chest by a girl whose condition requires her to be	Maiden turned [by curse] into stone. Her disenchantment depends on keeping secret the dangers surrounding her condition which require her to be
isolated from ordinary activity.	
Defloration	
Inside coach with prince snake becomes terrifying breaking and overflooding glass box	Inside bedroom with prince beast with seven heads appears and its blood floods the room and stains maiden.
Childbirth	
Girl gives birth to child. Washed in birth [blood] and water snake is	Maiden gives birth to child. Washed in the child's blood stone statue of friend is
turned back into human form.	
	Magical re-birth of sacrificial child.

In both tales there is some ominous secret inherent in woman's nature, a secret that is positively resolved following the birth of a child. Lévi-Strauss' summing up of female nature as it is described in the myths of South America – 'if you remove the maternal element from femininity what is left is stench' (1970: 271) – is a male worldview that is reflected in each of our tales, but in radically different ways.

In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' the maiden is afflicted by a curse whose danger becomes explicit in her connection with the beast with seven heads. The friend confronts this curse by refusing to quench the maiden's thirst and satisfy her hunger – by denying her water and an orange.

As soon as the curse appears embodied as a dragon he kills it and, as a result he is petrified. The friendship between the two men can only be saved – and this is the ultimate purpose of the tale – by the prince sacrificing the fruit of his love for the woman – the child – and making a blood offering of it to the statue of his friend. The child is then reborn from the love between the two men. Homosexual spirit

wins over heterosexual love and such is its power that it gives new life to the child. We can now understand why the childbirth episode of 'The Little Snake' with its natural shedding of blood is, in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' displaced to this second birth engendered in bloodshed by men. Just as with baptism and circumcision, a new birth, to a higher order, managed by men, is required to correct the limitations of natural birth from woman.

The curse brought by woman that threatened the higher alliance between men is now firmly destroyed. The whole process of life giving, from the awakening of sex to the birth of a child, is managed and controlled by men who, following the landmarks of the female life-giving process, also shed blood but do so in a heroic mode, through killing and sacrifice.

The narrative reflects the symbolic power of a dominant, male structured, worldview: woman's blood is metonymic with woman and woman is the metaphor for flesh. Flesh and blood – embodied in woman – are homologous to nature, which can only be transcended if controlled and transformed by the spirit (or culture). Blood has to be purified by acts in which it is deliberately, not naturally spilled, and this becomes man's prerogative, his task, his quest.

'The Prince Turned Into Stone' is near one end of an ideological spectrum. It follows the female model of the journey towards maturation, but only so as to stamp it out to improve on it. The events which appear as the supernatural basis of the heroic life cycle are simply the male appropriation, inversion and distortion of the events which form the natural basis of the female life cycle. 'The Little Snake' is located at the opposite end of the spectrum. These events, again symbolically represented, are stated in a simple form in which the real basis of the male ideological inversion is quite apparent. 'The Little Snake' appears as the 'inside story', the secret key to the male worldview of the heroic fairytales.

Instead of a fearsome monster which must be killed if the maiden is to marry, the snake is a friend. She is, in fact, a 'cursed' princess, a princess doomed to be a snake until a child is born. In the background we still have the dominant view that woman is 'stench' until she bears a child. But what one soon finds out is that the curse is really a blessing – if its rules are obeyed. The closeness of the intimacy between the girl and the snake is the source of all the good fortune that befalls the heroine as a woman.

Both the Maiden in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' and the Girl in 'The Little Snake' are intimately linked to a serpent that rules their lives. But the little snake, rather than being starved, is lovingly nourished. The heroine's progress is programmed with the harmonious

compliance of her father and unhindered by the Prince. Frightened rather than bold, he runs away every time he has the opportunity to be heroic.

The heroine proves her worth by accepting and trusting the snake, overcoming its frightening aspects as they occur in her first 'close encounter' with the prince, and in the pains of childbirth. As if to underline its connection with female blood, the snake disappears in the period between these two dramatic appearances, the blood of defloration and the blood of childbirth, that is, during the period of pregnancy, when there is no flow of blood. Because the woman keeps faith with the snake, it is at last shown to be a princess, the glory of woman when she gives birth.

But even this final glory is denied woman in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone'. In 'The Little Snake' the climax is a union sealed by blood involving the mother, the child and a supernatural female – with the father absent, superfluous. In 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' we see a mirror image of this. Again there is a union sealed by blood, but one involving the father, the child and a supernatural male – with the mother absent, superfluous.

The Friend and the Snake have the same role in both tales, as guides endowed with supernatural knowledge. But, whereas the Snake is the expression of female potency in both stories, the male Friend in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' acts as the controller and regulator of that potency. Drawing blood or demanding the spilling of blood are appropriations of natural female potency in the name of a higher potency – male and divine. The contrasting symmetries between both tales can be formulated as follows:

THE LITTLE SNAKE	THE PRINCE TURNED INTO STONE
Secret 'curse' (snake) as benevolent bestower of goods	Secret curse as dangerous affliction of maiden
Snake as friend	Curse as enemy
lovingly nourished	denied nourishment
causes flight of hero	killed as a dragon by hero
Birth of child	Sacrifice of child
transfigures snake.	de-petrifies friend.
Natural birth	Supernatural rebirth
Union sealed by blood involving child, PLUS	
mother and supernatural female (father absent).	father and supernatural male (mother absent).

'The Little Snake' offers a model, a blueprint of the stages of woman's life-giving process. This model may well have been the hidden source for myths and cosmogonies. But it no longer has the status of a cognitive structure on which human behaviour may be organized. Nevertheless, the analysis of both tales suggests that it may well have provided the template on which an inverted worldview, that of 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', came to be erected.

10. Conclusions

'The Little Snake' was analysed within the frame of *Snake Helper* tales, as they shared in their opening sections the theme of a girl's friendship with a 'feminine' snake. We saw that *Snake Helper* tales usually continue with an episode of *The Black and the White Bride* episode, developing the initial theme of friendly complementarity between two opposites (snake and girl) with that of a polarity between a good and an evil woman. We realized that complementarity and irreconcilable polarity are ultimately two different registers of the same notion of female alternation between two phases.

'The Little Snake' pursued and developed the theme of complementarity with that of inter-dependency. It became clear that the snake is the hidden aspect of female potency which becomes awesome when exposed to man at times when there is female shedding of blood, i.e., with defloration and childbirth. The tale highlights the positive and 'magic' aspects of this hidden dimension of woman and shows how its social acceptance is resolved with the birth of a child, i.e., with the fulfilment of female fertility.

In this girl's tale framed by the tale of an enchanted princess, both heroines serve as mediators to each other: the royal snake links the peasant to royalty and the human girl brings the snake to its human form. The pendular movement between enchantment and nonenchantment is embodied in each of the two figures, the human peasant girl and the princess enchanted as a snake.

'The Little Snake' may have been used as a verbal initiation for young girls. 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' was earlier shown to be a man's daydream. We can now see how remarkably similar the semantic pattern of both tales really is, and how a tripartite model based on the three bloods of woman can be used to highlight the understanding of the male story: how the heroic, sacrificial blood is modelled on female natural blood which, in the imaginary of the feminine tale, becomes *the snake*.

Ch. 7. BRANCA FLOR OR THE DEVIL'S DAUGHTER

1. Reference Text

'Branca Flor or The Devil's Daughter'

There was a king who had a son much given to gambling. No matter how much his father reproached him his son took no notice of his advice. One day he ran away from the palace and set out to travel the world. He went into a gambling den and there he met a man who won all the money the prince had taken with him. The man then invited the prince to come and spend a few days at his home.

"Where do you live?" the prince – who was called João – asked the man.

"I am leaving straight away. You must set out tomorrow along a road that will take you to a stream. On the other side of the stream it branches into two roads, one wide, the other narrow. Take the wide one and go on until you come to a hill. There you will find my palace."

The next day the prince set out and came to the stream, where two girls were bathing. To tease them, the prince picked up their clothes and they begged him to give them back. The prince paid no heed and so the younger one said:

"Give me back my clothes, João, and I promise to give you my help."

The prince gave her back her clothes and the girl advised him to take the narrow road, because if he took the wide one he would meet his death along the way. She also advised him both to knock at the door when he reached the house, and not to be afraid of a serpent that would then appear. And she concluded by saying:

"Listen. I am the daughter of the master of the house and my name is Branca Flor. Do not tell my father you know me. I shall be there to help you."

The prince thanked her for her advice and he followed the narrow road until he came to the palace. He knocked at the door and the serpent appeared. Then the great gambler – who was the devil – appeared.

"You're late," the devil told him. "Tomorrow I shall tell you what you have to do."

The next day the devil said:

"Go down to the yard, let out five goats and take them out to graze. If you lose any of them, I shall kill you."

The youth went down to the yard and on the way he met Branca Flor.

"Where are you going, João?"

"I am taking five goats out to graze, on your father's orders."

"Do not let them out, because if you do they will vanish at once. Go into the yard and you will find a stick under the gate. Take it and thrash four of the goats as hard as you can. Do not strike the littlest one, because it's me. Then go home at dusk and when my father asks you if the goats grazed well, you must say they did. When he says you were following my orders you must reply: 'If I saw Branca Flor, may Saint Anthony take me'. As soon as you mention Saint Anthony he will stop talking."

Everything happened exactly according to Branca Flor's advice.

The next day the devil said:

"Take two horses out from the stables and water them."

On his way to the stables João met Branca Flor.

"Where are you going, João?"

"To give two horses water, on your father's orders."

"Do not let them out, because if you do you will never master them again. Take a good stick and thrash them until you get tired. When you come home my father will ask you if the horses drank, and you must say they did. If my father says to you that you were following my instructions, give him the same reply as yesterday."

Everything happened as Branca Flor had said it would.

The next day the devil ordered the boy to sow ten litres of wheat on a crag, reap and thresh it the same day, and bring him bread baked from it by nightfall.

João took the wheat and went crying all the way until he reached the crag.

"Why are you crying, João?" asked Branca Flor.

João told her about her father's new orders.

"Do not cry, rest your head on my lap."

The youth did so and he fell asleep. Then Branca Flor said:

"Magic wand! By the power that God gave you, make it that this wheat is sown, grows, is reaped, threshed and baked into bread."

The prince woke up and saw that the bread was already baked.

"Take this bread to my father. We must run away. My father is going to kill us. Tonight at midnight go into the stables and saddle the thin

horse. I will come to meet you there."

João did so, but instead of saddling the thin horse he saddled the fat one. When Branca Flor arrived and saw the fat horse saddled, she said:

"You did wrongly. The thin one goes as fast as thought, the fat one only as fast as wind."

"I'll go and saddle the thin one", the prince offered.

"There's no time. We must flee right away."

And so they both fled mounted on the fat horse.

Now, the devil was in the habit of calling out for Branca Flor throughout the night, and she always had to answer her father's call. As soon as the two had run away the devil called for Branca Flor two or three times. As she did not reply he thrust his great sword into the shape lying in his daughter's bed, which was a wax figure that she had put in her place.

The devil's wife told her husband:

"Now you've killed the girl!"

"And tomorrow I shall kill João", the devil replied.

The next morning the devil got up very early and went to Branca Flor's bed. Instead of her he found the wax figure. Then he ran to the world map and checked where the two fugitives were at that moment.

"I can still catch them", the devil said.

He went to the stables and mounted the thin horse. In a few moments the devil caught up with the fugitives.

"Here comes my father", Branca Flor cried, blowing through a tube in her father's direction.

At once a thick fog formed. The devil returned home to consult the world map, and when he saw where the fugitives now were he set off in pursuit of them again.

"Here comes my father", Branca Flor cried, blowing through another tube.

A large river was created. The devil returned home and went to consult the map. Seeing that he still could catch them, he set out after them again.

"Here comes my father. Magic wand! Turn me into a vegetable garden, turn the horse into an old wall and turn João into a gardener."

"Have you seen a man and a girl pass by riding on a horse?" the devil asked the gardener.

"Yes, I saw them, when I began to lay out this garden."

The devil returned home, and his wife told him:

"You fool! The gardener was João."

The devil rode back again, but by then the horse had already turned into a chapel, Branca Flor into a statue and João into a sexton.

Deceived once again, the devil returned home, but his wife said:

"Don't worry. When João reaches his palace he will be embraced from behind by his mother and he will never remember our daughter again."

The devil gave up his pursuit of the fugitives.

When they were near to the palace of the prince's father, the prince said:

"Wait here for me. I am going to warn my father, so that he may come with all his courtiers."

But when João arrived at the palace he received the fatal embrace and forgot about Branca Flor. She took her magic wand and made a palace right there and put herself inside it. In this palace there was a very deep well.

A few days later a nobleman passed by. Seeing a very beautiful maiden at the window, he asked permission to enter.

"Come in, if you have money", she answered.

The nobleman went in. At night he wanted to go to bed with the girl, but when she went to bed she asked him to bring her a glass of water from the well. He went to fetch the water, but he spent the whole night trying to draw water without managing to produce a single drop. When the sun rose the maiden told the nobleman to leave and never come back, as he had behaved so discourteously in not fetching her any water.

The nobleman related this incident to the 'forgetful' prince, who decided to pay the maiden a visit. He went there but he did not recognize her. When night came and she was going to bed, she asked him to bring her a glass of water from the well. But when he went he got the terrible feeling that he was falling down the well. Then the prince exclaimed, of his own accord:

"These must be the tricks of the lady Branca Flor!"

"Although you took such a long time to remember me, I forgive you for your forgetfulness, for I know it was not your fault."

They embraced for a long time and the next day they got married, to great public celebration.

I went there and they gave me nothing.

'Branca Flor ou a Filha do Diabo', from F. X. Ataíde de Oliveira, *Contos Tradicionais do Algarve*, n.d., II: 213–216 [no. 318 in the 1905 edition, from Salir, Algarve].

2. Why 'Brancaflor'?

The first tale we explored, 'The Beast With Seven Heads', was a heroic fairytale with mythical undertones. Our second tale, 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', was a masculine fairytale, which we argued was structured upon a female model. Our third fairytale, 'The Little Snake', was an illuminating example of what such a model might be, and we analysed it in the context of a cluster of different feminine tales that provided a comprehensive background for an understanding of its rarety and transmutation into different forms. The story we are now going to examine is one that begins as a masculine tale and develops as a feminine tale – a 'marriage' between hero and heroine plots.

The basic plot of 'Brancaflor', the story of *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight*, tale type AT 313, as it occurs in Portugal, runs as follows: A Prince gambles with and loses to the Devil and is therefore obliged to present himself at the Devil's house as a servant. On his way there the Prince comes across Branca Flor, the Devil's daughter, while she is bathing and steals her dress, which he only agrees to return when she promises to help him. The Devil sets him a series of impossible tasks, but with the aid of Branca Flor's magic powers he successfully accomplishes them. The couple then are forced to flee because the Devil intends to kill them. Because they are riding the slower of his two magic horses the Devil is able to catch up with them, but Branca Flor sets up a series of magic obstacles in his path to delay him, and also tricks him by transforming herself, the hero, and their horse into a variety of disguised forms. When they reach safety, however, the Prince is embraced by a member of his family and as a result forgets Branca Flor's very existence. She takes up residence in a house of her own, where she receives and humiliates a series of suitors until the Prince himself comes to visit her. By the exercise of her magic powers she causes the prince to recognize and remember her, they are reunited and marry.

An insight into the different prejudices and interests of male and female narrators is provided by a version of 'Brancaflor' that appears in Jaime Lopes Dias' *Etnologia da Beira* (no. 10 in Appendix 4, in which a synoptic comparison is provided of Portuguese versions of this tale type). The story there begins unusually, with a hero who is already married. He gambles with, and loses to, the Devil, and thus comes to meet Brancaflor (I normally refer to the heroine as Brancaflor, except when – as in Oliveira's versions – the name is spellt 'Branca Flor'). But her role in their elopement and escape from her parents is merely to pass over the magic agents to the hero: it is he who blows the material from the 'tubes' into the path of their pursuers to delay them. If one

had any doubts that this version was being narrated by a man they are dispelled by the denouement: having totally forgotten that he was married at the beginning of the tale, the hero does not forget Brancaflor at the end. So the part of the tale in which the woman is unequivocally the main actor, the forgotten bride episode, is simply omitted.

Once we realize that this is a hero tale which later becomes a heroine tale, it is rewarding to examine the whole sequence from the perspective of both protagonists, respecting Holbek's insight that, on a deeper level of semantical analysis, all fairytales have two protagonists (1987: 415). We can follow throughout the tale the interlinked adventures of the hero and of the heroine.

Each of the protagonists is assigned a well defined territory and the main adventure of each of them takes place in the territory of 'the other'. It becomes clear with this tale that, if the male sphere of adventure is female territory (though, as will be argued, the Devil is its master) the converse is also true. And, although 'the other world', the sphere of Brancaflor, can be seen as female territory, whereas 'this world', the Prince's sphere, can be seen as 'male' territory, both are spaces of disjunction: they are the spheres of each other's family, each other's blood-kin. As we shall see, the movement towards their union – conjunction – can only be fully realized in an *in-between* space, the 'no man's or woman's land' that bridges the two territories: the flight from the devil's territory towards the Prince's land, and the marginal space outside the Prince's palace, where Brancaflor waits for the Prince to come to her. This tale shows very graphically that, ultimately, the opposition to be bridged is not male-female but, as suggested in my Introduction, that of disjunction-conjunction.

Selecting a particular version to serve as a reference text was difficult because the different variations present enormously interesting material. One is tempted more than ever to consider an ideal sequence that would comprise an amalgamation of motifs that can only be found scattered among several versions. I shall, however, follow Oliveira's 'Branca Flor or The Devil's Daughter' as a plot guideline and take into consideration such variations that I think of interest for a fuller comprehension of the tale.

Antti Aarne devoted a monograph to the study of a basic motif in this story, the magic flight of the couple from the house of the Devil (1930). It is a typical example of the Historic-Geographic school, attempting to take into account all the versions then available to the author. It lists only five Portuguese versions of the story type, although thirteen had been recorded in the collections published by that time. I shall rely on some of the information contained in Aarne's study, in the awareness that it is outdated in many respects.

3. Early Forms of AT 313

The tale type of *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight* is a combination of distinct strands of tales that can be traced back in written form to the Ancient Greek story of Jason and Medea, over 2,500 years ago. One can judge the success of its crystallization in its present form by the tale's geographical expansion and the consistency of its multiple variants.

In the Greek tale we can already find the broad lines of the plot of 'The Devil's Daughter', including the theme of the 'forgotten bride', although in this case with a tragic outcome. The hero Jason arrives in Colchis and is helped by Medea to accomplish the tasks assigned to him by her father Aeëtes. He is thus able to yoke the fiery bulls to the plough, sow the dragon's teeth in the ploughed field and defeat the army of soldiers who spring from these teeth. When Jason finally gains the Golden Fleece and flees with Medea, she helps him escape from her father's pursuit by killing her brother Absyrtus and then throwing his dismembered body behind them. Her father is forced to give up his pursuit in order to gather the pieces and give his son a decent burial. But later on Medea is abandoned –'forgotten' – by Jason in favour of Creusa, the daughter of the ruler of the city they have arrived at. Medea kills her rival through the gift of a shirt that ignites when Creusa attempts to wear it, killing the princess and destroying the palace. In despair at her abandonment Medea kills the children she has had by Jason, and is carried off to the heavens in a dragon chariot sent to her by her grandfather, the Sun (Carlier 1991).

The striking resemblances between the Greek myth and the folktale tradition were the subject of a study by Grace Knopp (1933), 'The Motifs of the "Jason and Medea" Myth in Modern Tradition. A Study of Märchentypus 313', which unfortunately proved unavailable to me, although it is referred to amply in a recent essay on the tale type (Goldberg 1992). The similarities between the plots of Jason and Medea and the Iberian Brancaflor has also been examined by the Spanish scholar Rodríguez Almodóvar (1985), who suggests a common popular source for both the Greek myth and the fairytale. We can see the likelihood of a feminine handling of the material in the fairytale, which, though preserving the demonic nature of Medea, makes her powers unquestionably attractive and develops the plot in the heroine's favour.

Aarne refers to an early Japanese text (dated 712 AD) in which we find the core element of the magic flight (Aarne 1930: 6). Isanagi goes to the realm of the dead to bring back his sister-wife Isanami. She cannot return for she has already eaten from the food of the under-

world. He ignites the teeth of a comb and sees that Isanami's rotting corpse is possessed by eight thundergods. As he flees he escapes the furies sent by Isanami by throwing behind him a head decoration which turns into a grape over which they fight, thus delaying their pursuit. This account, which also brings to mind Orpheus' descent into Hades in his quest for Eurydice, shows how the magic flight is intrinsincally connected with a journey to the underworld. This journey to the land of the dead is a key element in the shamanic quest, the subject of myths all over the world. In a discussion of them, written at a time when the ritual school of explanation of the origins of myths and folktales was very much in fashion, Hans Naumann (1921: 18–60) argued that the primitive fear of the dead was at the root of all obstacle flight stories, which were universal because rituals exorcizing the dead were also universal.

In the eleventh century Indian *Ocean of Story* there is a tale which very closely corresponds to the first half of 'The Devil's Daughter', the 'Story of S'ringabhuja and the daughter of the Rákshasa' (Penzer 1925, III: 218–239). The son of king Vírabhuja is tricked by his jealous brothers into shooting his father's precious bejewelled arrow at a crane who is really Rákshasa, the wicked king of cannibalistic spirits. Prince S'ringabhuja has to go into the spirits' realm to retrieve the arrow. Once there, he meets the spirit's daughter, Rúpasíkhá, and Rákshasa sets him impossible tasks when he learns that the prince wants to marry his daughter. Although a very powerful king, Rákshasa is in fact very stupid, and Rúpasíkhá outwits her father in cunning and magic when she helps the hero fulfil the tasks. First the prince has to recognize Rúpasíkhá among her hundred sisters, all exactly alike; next he has to sow a huge field with sesame seed; then he has to retrieve all the seeds again. Lastly he must go the king's brother, who is sure to devour him, with an invitation to the wedding. Mounting Rúpasíkhá's horse, he escapes the pursuing ogre by throwing behind him earth, water, thorns and fire given to him by the princess, and these become obstacles that in the end make the ogre give up the pursuit. They marry and the prince wishes to return and take Rúpasíkhá with him. She evades her father's pursuit by making the prince and the horse invisible and taking, twice, the form of a man, a woodcutter and a letter-carrier. Under these shapes she convinces her father that he himself is dead or mortally wounded, and they arrive safely in the prince's kingdom. Aarne believes this tale to be a late sophisticated gloss on an older oral tale (1930: 144–145).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there appears a tale written by 'Il Cieco de Ferrara' (Goldberg 1992: 41) which is remarkably similar to two versions of AT 313 recorded in Braga's Portuguese

collection. The beginning of 'The Turkish Sultan' is the only sequence that does not appear in the oral tradition: a prince is captured in order to be killed so that his blood may cure the Turkish sultan's leprosy. The plot then runs parallel to Braga's 'A Filha do Rei Mouro' and 'O Cavalinho das Sete Cores' (my nos. 12 and 13), i.e., without the episode of 'the difficult tasks' but with those of 'the magic flight' and 'the forgotten bride'. The sultan's daughter is able to elope with the Prince thanks to her magic powers. The fleeing pair are cursed by the girl's mother, making the prince forget the heroine. The 'forgotten bride' episode includes the amusing sequence of the 'spellbound suitors', which is found in several Portuguese versions (see Appendix 4).

The name 'Brancaflor' (Blancaflor in Spanish) which, together with 'The Devil's Daughter' usually identifies this tale type in Iberian oral narrative, can itself be traced back to the medieval romance 'Floris et Blancheflor', of which the earliest written version is in French and dates from 1160 (Frenzel 1984). This story soon became widespread in Europe and a reference to it appears in the Portuguese Middle Ages in one of King Diniz' 'Cantigas de Amor', ('Senhor fremosa e de mui loução': Torres 1977: 234). Its connection with Portuguese versions of AT 313 like Braga's 'A Filha do Rei Mouro' lies in that Blancheflor is rescued from the land of the Moors by Floris.

4. 'The Swan Maiden'

The 'Swan Maiden' tales are another possible source for some resilient motifs and structural features in 'Brancaflor' as we know it today. These stories of *The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife* (AT 400) have been studied by A. T. Hatto (1980) who argues that they had ancient North-Eurasian shamanic origins. He summarizes the 'Swan Maiden' story as follows: 'a man forces a bird-maiden to become his wife by stealing her feather-robe while she is bathing, thus preventing her from flying off. The pair have children, and one day the bird-woman recovers her feather-robe and flies away with them. As a sequel, the man may pursue her to the other place to which she returned' (Hatto 1980: 267).

That the 'Swan Maiden' can appear as a dove already occurs in a German version of the fourteenth century (Hatto 1980: 290). Now, in a good percentage of European versions of 'The Devil's Daughter' (six out of twenty-four in the case of Portuguese versions), Brancaflor first appears as a dove. In the Brazilian 'Cova da Linda Flor' (Romero 1954: 160–166, my no. 25), the maidens actually become ducks when they take off their clothes and enter the water. The episode of the stolen

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robes is even more common (nine of the Brazilian and Portuguese versions).

Linda Dégh, describing the repertoire of a Hungarian peasant community, states that 'well known is the subtype in which the hero follows the swan maiden after overcoming her (AT 400) and her hostile father forces him to solve many difficult tasks' (1969: 350). This combination of the 'Swan Maiden' story with the episode of difficult tasks also occurs in a beautiful Japanese tale, 'A Maiden who came down from Heaven' (Seki 1963: 63–69). Although the episode of the magic flight is absent from this tale, its intriguing similarity with 'The Devil's Daughter' led its editor to classify it as AT 313.

'Swan Maiden' stories do not, as far as I am aware, exist in Portugal. But when at some point in their history the tales came into contact with those of the 'Devil's Daughter' their structures became similar. In all 'Swan Maiden' stories and in many of those of 'The Devil's Daughter' the hero steals the clothes (feathery or not) of a magic maiden who is bathing, often in the company of her sisters. But there is a crucial difference with regard to the hero's reaction to the naked maiden whose clothes he stole that consistently determines the succeeding events of the plots of the two tales.

In 'The Devil's Daughter' the man *returns* the clothes in exchange for an alliance, whereas in 'The Swan Maiden' he *withdraws* them, thereby compelling the maiden to marry him. As a consequence, the fortunate hero of 'The Devil's Daughter' undergoes an initiation under the maiden's tutelage and, rather than abandoning him, it is she who later embarks on a quest to win the hero back. Conversely, in 'The Swan Maiden' there appears to be a 'marriage before initiation' which leads to the heroine's flight as soon as she manages to retrieve her magic dress and to the hero's subsequent quest in search of his lost wife. Versions like the Japanese and Hungarian ones mentioned earlier include at this point the tasks through which the hero undergoes a belated (and seldom successful) initiation.

The contrast between the initial reactions of the hero in the two tale types seems, therefore, to determine the direction of the plot. In both types the hero is secretly helped by the heroine to fulfil the tasks set by her father; in both, these tasks take place in the territory of the heroine, *after* her marriage in 'The Swan Maiden' (AT 400), *before* it in 'The Devil's Daughter' (AT 313).

Aarne regards the bathing maidens of AT 313 as a late import from AT 400 and leaves the connection between both tales at that (Aarne 1930: 49). I would suggest that such an import determined the symmetrical development of the last sequences in 'The Swan Maiden' and 'The Devil's Daughter', respectively the quests for the lost wife and

lost husband. This development appears at a later stage in the shaping of 'The Devil's Daughter' as it now stands. We saw that the first part of the story was already well established in India by the eleventh century, but it did not seem to have the stealing of clothes motif nor the sequel of the forgotten bride. It would seem, therefore, logical that the imported 'Swan Maiden' motif of stealing the bathing maiden's clothes came to determine the final sequence in 'Brancaflor' – the quest for the husband – which is precisely the inverse of the quest for the lost wife in the 'The Swan Maiden'. At the appropriate time I shall dwell on the ethical logic that determines different outcomes for the hero of each tale type according to his reaction to the bathing maidens.

With an awareness of this preliminary background, we can now begin an analysis of the elements of our story and its Portuguese versions. I shall start by proposing an analysis following Propp's model, which will give us a panorama of the tale's sequence. I shall then discuss it in the light of another Proppian analysis of four Spanish versions of the same tale type.

5. A Proppian Analysis of 'Branca Flor or The Devil's Daughter'

Using Propp's system of fairytale analysis, our reference text can be approached as follows:

α initial situation *There was a king who had a son much given to gambling*

β^3 departure *One day he ran away from the palace and set out to travel the world*

η deception *He went into a gambling den and there he met a man ...*

θ the hero reacts *who won all the money the prince had taken with him*

ε preliminary misfortune *The man then invited the prince to come and spend a few days at his home*

A villainy *... he would meet his death*

↑C departure and consent to counteraction *The next day the prince set out*

D first function of the donor (other requests) *'Give me back my clothes, João, and I promise to help you'*

E fulfilment of request *The prince gave her back her clothes*

F helper offers his services *the girl advices the prince ...*

G guidance *the girl advised the prince to take the narrow road [...] and not to be afraid of a serpent*

M difficult tasks:

M1 *let out five goats and take them out to graze*

M2 *Take two horses out from the stables and give them water*

M3 *sow half a measure of wheat on a crag [...] and bring bread baked from it by nightfall*

N_1, N_2, N_3 (solution of tasks with advice of helper, last one performed by helper)
↓ Return

γ^1 interdiction *saddle the thin horse*
δ^1 interdiction violated *he saddled the fat one*
a lack of magical agent *The thin one goes as fast as thought, the fat one only as fast as the wind*
Pr1 persecution *[the devil] mounted the thin horse. In a few moments [he] caught up with the fugitives*
Rs^2 rescue throwing obstacles: *blowing through a tube in her father's direction*
Rs^21 *a thick fog*
Rs^22 *a large river*
Rs^3 rescue through transformations
Rs^31 *turn me into a vegetable garden*
Rs^32 *the horse had turned into a chapel*

γ^2 order or command *he will be embraced from behind by his mother...*
δ^2 command carried out *he received the fatal embrace...*
A^{vii} villainy *... and forgot about Branca Flor*
F magical agent *She took her magic wand and made a palace [...] In [it] there was a very deep well*
o unrecognized arrival *... a very beautiful maiden at the window*
L claims of false suitor *a nobleman [...] asked permission to enter*
M difficult task *she asked him to bring her a glass of water from the well*
N_{-1} failure of false 'bridegroom' *without managing to get a drop*
N_{-2} failed attempt of true bridegroom *the terrible feeling that he was falling down the well*
(leads to...)
Q recognition, also K^8 breaking of spell *'These must be the tricks of the lady Branca Flor!'*
W wedding *they married the next day.*

From the above breakdown we can detect three basic sequences in the tale structure, each initiated by a misfortune and ended by its solution. (1) The hero falls into the devil's power; he successfully accomplishes the tasks prescribed by him. (2) The hero chooses the wrong horse; he manages to escape the devil's pursuit. (3) The hero forgets his bride; he remembers and marries her.

The two first actions are themselves a unit comprehended between a departure and a return, and six of the Portuguese versions end at this point, whereas two others omit the first sequence, the difficult tasks

(see Appendix 4). The flight episode is crucial and always appears combined either with the first or with the third sequences or, as in most versions, with both.

We can also see that the interest is gradually focused upon the heroine: the initiating misfortunes start by concerning the hero alone (1), then concern both the hero and Branca Flor (2), and lastly appear to concern Branca Flor alone (3). Both the hero's and the heroine's adventures are skilfully interwoven, bringing the hero's helper gradually to the foreground as the heroine. From this perspective we can consider the first sequence as the hero's adventure, which is prompted by his gambling, initiated by his departure and culminates in the accomplishment of the tasks with the heroine as helper; the second sequence as the hero's return to his home ground / heroine's departure into alien territory; and the last sequence as the heroine's own adventure, which also involves the hero.

In his analysis of four Spanish variants of the tale, Andrés Gutiérrez (1982) divides the tale into five sequences: 1. Beginnings; 2. Tasks; 3. Magical Flight; 4. Curse and Oblivion; 5. Adventure of Recognition and Wedding. He takes into account the sequences leading to the first and third misfortunes – gambling (1) and curse (2) – ignoring the minimal but just as significant sequence leading to the second misfortune – the choice of the wrong horse which prompts the flight sequence – and he isolates the final recognition.

In my opinion this conveys a fragmented view of the plot which obscures its fundamental structure, based on the switch of roles and territories. The final sequence in which Brancaflor tests her suitors, aiming at gaining recognition by the Prince, is better understood if Branca Flor is seen as the active heroine and gets him to remember her. This sequence, in which she first arouses the curiosity of the Prince and then gets him to remember her, has, in fact, a common structure with tale type AT 425, *The Search for the Lost Husband*, in unquestionably a heroine tale type.

Andrés Gutiérrez' classification of the hero's gambling and losing to the devil as negative 'Combat-Victory', ('H–I–'), leads to a profound misinterpretation of the tale's structure. (He uses the Spanish translation of Propp's *Morphology* and in his essay 'J' signifies 'Victory' and 'I' signifies 'Mark': for clarity's sake I use throughout the symbols as they appear in the revised English edition, where the values of these particular symbols are transposed).This sub-sequence is, in fact, the preparatory action leading to the first villainy, the hero's falling into the devil's power, i.e., 'Deception-Hero's reaction to deception' ('γ–δ'). There is no logic in preceding the 'Villainy', which triggers the adventure with a sequence 'Combat-Victory', which is a test selecting the hero as

victor, often followed by a function positively marking him as such ('J').

There is, in fact, no 'Combat-Victory' (H–I) combination of functions in 'The Devil's Daughter': the tale conforms adequately to Propp's own classification as a 'Difficult Tasks' (M–N) tale type – a type more characteristic of heroine stories. And this applies to this tale insofar as one's attention is very early drawn to the female helper rather than to the hero, so much so that eventually the emphasis is altered to cast her as the heroine. The Aarne–Thompson classification of this tale type as *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight* is misleading as it takes the respective roles for granted. The switch that takes place half-way through the story escapes one's attention, and a Proppian analysis may become muddled as a result. There certainly is a bias in favour of it being a hero adventure – a bias endemic in the Aarne–Thompson Index and also characteristic of Propp's own analyses.

The first two sequences of service to the devil and escape from him with his daughter – which make up a coherent tale on their own – seem to have attracted a third sequence of the forgotten bride in such a way that the latter is to be found in the majority of 'Brancaflor' tales. The articulation between the hero and heroine halves is always determined by an episode in which the hero forgets his bride, a powerful hinge whose function is to turn the tale on its head, reversing roles and spaces.

6. Two Structural Analyses of Tale Type AT 313

'The Devil's Daughter' has also been the subject of two interesting structuralist studies. In the first of these the Portuguese anthropologist, João de Pina Cabral (1977) chose to examine one particular text in the light of the Catholic worldview of the Portuguese peasantry. But the variant of 'Brancaflor' that he chose (Vasconcellos 1963, no. 191, my no. 16) is a rendering of the tale which bears the strong editorial mark of its original collector, Ana de Castro Osório, who forwarded it to Vasconcellos.

Of all the Portuguese versions, there is no doubt that this one most reflects a Catholic background, in motifs and structure. Brancaflor has the misfortune of becoming the Devil's goddaughter and therefore has to part from her parents in order to go and live with him. Both she and the Prince are protected by the Virgin Mary. Cabral can therefore utilize a 'Catholic' code for his interpretation, which he develops along the contradiction 'damnation-salvation', the Catholic way of asking how one can live (forever) if one is going to die. In this particular text both protagonists come from the same territory and follow a

parallel journey of return. They are both human and in need of salvation, which they find in their union. This is a very unusual version of 'The Devil's Daughter', certainly meant to water down the demonic nature of the heroine and, for an anthropologist, it is certainly useful as a reflection of a particular religious worldview.

The reference text I use is more typical of the tale at large. As mentioned earlier, each of the protagonists is firmly assigned to one territory, making it easier to understand why the main adventure for each of them should take place in the other's territory. In his analysis, valuable as a rare and meticulous application of Lévi-Strauss's ideas to folktale analysis, Cabral considers both Brancaflor and the Prince as the mediators in the process of bridging the contradiction 'damnation-salvation'.

The other structuralist analysis of 'The Devil's Daughter' occurs in a paper by Michèle Simonsen, 'Against the idea of symbolism in fairy tales' (1985), in which she argues that meaning in fairytales should be looked for in their structure rather than in a translation of their symbols, illustrating her point with an analysis of a French version of the tale, 'La Montagne Verte'. For Simonsen the contradictions that have to be overcome appear as several pairs of oppositions: male-female, children-father, work-pleasure, nature-supernature. Classified along these axes, the characters are not only defined in terms of sex, age and status – the three fundamental terms by which Holbek analyses fairytales – but also in terms of the axis nature-supernature which defines the characters in terms of an 'essence' which is similar to the axis of disenchantment-enchantment which, in my view, is fundamental to the structure of fairytales.

Simonsen argues that 'the story is seen in a man's perspective' because the 'powerful, magical woman has to be tamed in the end' (1985: 238), but if this factor determined whether the perspective of a tale is masculine or feminine, then all tales would carry a 'man's perspective'. The 'disenchantment' necessary for the happy-ending of a tale involves the disappearance of the supernatural features of its characters which, as we have seen earlier, are connected with a state of disjunction incompatible with the stability of 'marriage'. Enchantment derives from the instability introduced by the process of transformation, which qualifies the supernatural mode of fairytales: the Cinderella-like alternation between ugliness and beauty ceases once the heroine is firmly anchored in the sphere of marriage.

By viewing 'The Devil's Daughter' as a masculine tale dealing with the rules governing a man's passage from bachelor youth to the married state, Simonsen gives a one-sided understanding of the tale. She argues that 'from a narratological point of view, *he* is the hero, because

the story focuses on mankind's shortcomings and their solutions, not on the Devil's folks' shortcomings' (1985: 239). The ambiguity surrounding the 'supernature' of the Devil and his daughter, on which the whole plot is built, is left untouched.

I think it is impossible to be 'against the idea of symbolism' in fairytales. It is precisely their structure that first invites a symbolic interpretation. Fairytales are 'so symbolic that they do not even appear to be' (Rodríguez Almodóvar 1989: 7) because, rather than relying on complex imagery they rely on patterns of actions that are so compelling that they surely have a symbolic dimension. And where else to find it but in the 'parole' of this 'language'? If stealing the robes of a bathing woman consistently determines two symmetrically different stories depending on whether the robes are returned to her before or after a 'marriage' takes place, it surely is pertinent to enquire into the symbolism of those robes; to ponder why they were originally feathery; to delve into the meaning of the transformation which occurs when those robes are put on or taken off; to pause and consider the 'supernature' that this change entails; and finally to see if, when the motif becomes vestigial, its meaning emerges in other motifs, such as the magic powers of the bathing maiden.

7. 'Branca Flor or The Devil's Daughter': Analysis of the Episodes

7.1. *First Sequence. From Hero's Departure to Magical Flight*

Our story starts with a prince who gambles with a stranger – the devil – and loses. A large proportion of Portuguese versions – ten of the twenty-six I examined – introduce the hero as such a gambler who loses everything to the devil and has therefore to follow and serve him (see synoptic table in Appendix 4). Alternatively, the hero's parents are guilty of a pact with the devil with the same results. It may be that they choose a rich godfather who happens to be the devil (the irony of such a choice comes out even more strongly in English) or it may be a bargain whereby the child is unwittingly promised to the devil. In all cases the hero has or inherits a weakness whereby he becomes prey to the devil, or a powerful fiend.

On the one hand the practice of gambling is regarded with such disapproval that it justifies a penalty that amounts to the loss of one's soul or one's life. On the other, it can be regarded as a positive act of the hero, an act that determines his own fate, in contrast to the cowardice characteristic of a false hero. Popular and archaic religious practices rely on chance devices very much akin to gambling in their

dealings with the supernatural. The sacred, initiatory connotations of gambling, 'playing with the devil', are made richly ambiguous by its opposed connotations. Cabral, in his structuralist analysis of 'Brancaflor', examines the act of gambling within the Portuguese Catholic context, as a sin that leads to the damnation of one's soul, using a version in which gambling is compared to a torment in hell. In his article on gambling in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Alf Hiltebeitel (1987) draws on its two aspects of 'deep' play and passionate involvement, as they relate to its cosmological significance. Both its religious significance and its condemnation stem from those two aspects, the condemnation being a protection against its danger (with regard to 'deep' play) and idolatry (with its involvement in 'false cosmologies ruled by false gods').

When we judge it by its consequences, gambling is a trigger to adventure, equivalent to that simple longing for something more that often determines eventual heroic status. These are no cautionary tales. In fairytales pacts made with the devil turn out successfully in the end. As with the Portuguese word *aventura*, 'the primary meaning of the Middle English word *aventure* is "chance". The knight's adventure is therefore a dedicated submission to chance. The knight puts himself at the disposal of chance' (Mann 1982).

In one Portuguese version (my no. 17) the hero's mother has him educated in all the arts, the final one of which is the art of gambling, and, to improve his skill and against his wishes, she sends him to gamble with the devil. The devil loses the first two games, but then he wins – and the adventure begins. This version clearly spells out the religious dimension of gambling as a strenuous preparation before crossing the threshold to the unknown. Hiltebeitel stresses in his article 'how many epics include episodes of gambling and (...) how frequently the "good" hero loses, awaiting final triumph or vindication elsewhere' (1987: 473).

Gambling – *and losing* – commits the hero to his particular destiny. Because he has lost to the devil, the hero has to follow him to his territory, which is also that of Brancaflor, the devil's daughter. The devil functions both as the cause of the hero's misfortune and as his initiator, the 'donor' in Proppian terms, the equivalent of the great witch Baba Jaga in Russian tales. As 'donor', the devil gives him access to his daughter, the hero's helper and eventual bride and, again from the Proppian perspective – in which it is the outcome of the action which is important rather than the motivations of the characters – it is irrelevant whether the devil is the hero's donor willingly or unwillingly. The plot that follows is, as we shall see, the enactment of the hero's gamble, his *aventure*.

Whereas the version chosen by Cabral as a reflection of the Portuguese mentality (my no. 16), offers a Catholic rendition of hell, with fire and perdition of souls, the version we have chosen to analyse is more typical of the Portuguese folktale corpus. The Christian gloss in our version is very thin indeed. In order to acquire his heroic status the hero has to give himself to the devil, denoted by his passionate involvement in gambling. This mystical plunge into the unknown can also appear in these stories not just as losing to the devil, but simply as getting lost. In 'A Lebre' (my no. 5) the hero falls into the hands of a witch when he goes deep into the forest trying to catch a hare. The implication in our tale is that the hero has not only to die but to lose his soul, following the devil into hell. This dissolution – the journey into the devil's world – shares features of the 'loss' involved in a mystical union. And, indeed, he finds no Christian hell.

But before he reaches the devil's territory, in the limbo between the two worlds, he sees two maidens bathing in a stream – the Styx shrunk to village size – and, 'por brincadeira' ('to tease them'), steals their clothes. It is consistent with most variants of this motif that, by stealing the bathing maiden's clothes, the hero acquires a power over her that leads to a compromise and an alliance. We have seen earlier that the motif of stealing the clothes from a bathing maiden, the crucial element of 'Swan Maiden' tales, is also firmly embedded in most versions of our story, which will turn out to be, in its last section, the story of a woman in a quest for her lost husband, the symmetrical inversion of *The Man's Quest for his Lost Wife*. It is apparent that the logic that determines the two different outcomes is of an ethical nature. By keeping the maiden's clothes and forcing her to marry him, the hero of 'The Swan Maiden' tales is doomed to lose her, whereas the hero of 'Brancaflor' tales, by returning her clothes and settling for a compromise, progresses further. He gains not only her alliance in the tasks to come but also her love. It is *she* who eventually looks for him, not the reverse.

It is, nevertheless, clear that in both instances the hero gains power over the maiden by the fact that he sees her nakedness. In the version 'Um Grande Jogador' (my no. 6) the connection between her subjection and being seen naked is explicitly stated: 'Since you have seen my naked body, I must belong to you alone'. The forced intimacy implied by seeing the maiden's nakedness is a breach of a taboo that works here to the hero's advantage. Although in the *Satapatha-brahmana* version of the story of Urvasi, it is Pururavas who loses his wife by seeing her naked (Hatto 1980: 289), in the 'Eros and Psyche' type of tale it is usually the heroine who sees her lover naked and this results in the opposite effect, causing him to disappear. But in our tale the hero not only sees but he controls the bathing maiden's nakedness by being in

possession of her clothes. In the 'Swan Maiden' stories this control is clearly that of halting her capacity of transformation. Without her clothes the maiden cannot revert to swan form, she can no longer become inaccessible to the hero.

First the hero gambles, now he secures a helper and a mate by stealing her clothes. We are as far from a Christian hell as we are far from a Christian code of behaviour. In terms of modern ethics, the active moves that define our hero and pave the way to his success can hardly be called moral or heroic. Nevertheless, these are the hero's two active moves that determine his heroic destiny. The first – where he is delivered to the devil – ensures his journey; the second – whereby, symmetrically, the maiden is delivered to him – ensures the success of his enterprise. (In our version the prince steals the clothes of both maidens 'for fun', and accepts the bargain of one of them). There is, however, a context in which his actions can perfectly well be understood as heroic: in a shamanic scenario.

First, the readiness to 'lose' – to die so as to have access to the other world: 'The shaman receives his qualifications to be a magical doctor as a result of his successful exposure to the demonic forces' (Taylor 1985: 28). Knud Rasmussen (1979) gives a beautiful account of a shaman's journey, 'who drops down to the bottom of the sea', to meet the 'sea-spirit'. The shaman 'must wear nothing but his kamiks and mittens'. The stripping of the hero is a corollary development of gambling away his wealth. In 'Um Grande Jogador' (my no. 6) the gambler hero loses 'all his money and his clothes too, coming home that night in his underwear'. But the tales are often explicit about the ultimate loss that occurs: in the same version: 'the youth not only lost all his money, but his body too, signing away his labour to his companion for the rest of his life'. If this example can be interpreted as just slavery, another variant, 'O Palácio das Águas Tristes' (my no. 4) leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the hero's radical 'stripping': 'The two of them gambled throughout the night, the prince losing everything, his body and soul included'.

The connection between losing at gambling and disrobing as an ultimate dispossession appears in the famous gamble of the Pandava brothers in the *Mahabharata*:

> One of the most important themes that unites the dice play of Siva and Parvati with the dice match of the Mahabharata is that of stripping (...) after the five Pandava brothers have gambled away everything, even their freedom and their wife-in-common, Draupadi, the culminating act is the attempt by the winners (the Kauravas) to disrobe the heroine... [...] As Draupadi is an incarnation of the Goddess, the miraculous intervention by Krsna that prevents

> her stripping is a sign that the dissolution of the universe will not occur in untimely fashion... (Hiltebeitel 1987: 473.)

The same cosmic dimensions in the act of being disrobed appear already in the Sumerian myth of the descent of the goddess Inanna into the realm of Ereshkigal (Perera 1981: 9). As she passes each of the seven gates of the Underworld, she is stripped of each of her regalia, to be finally killed and hung on a peg, where she turns into a piece of rotting flesh.

So, these encounters with the demonic that involve a dissolution take the form of stripping both in the preparation for the shamanic journey as narrated by Rasmussen, and in that of the hero in the versions of 'Brancaflor' where, after gambling, he is explicitly stripped of his clothes. The explicit or implicit stripping of the hero has its counterpart in Brancaflor's own disrobement: it is he, now, who, by controling her nakedness, establishes an alliance – a pact – with her. Just as Rasmussen's shaman, after a most perilous journey, finally meets Sedna, the mistress of the animals and of the underworld, and manages to intercede with her for his people, so does our hero meet a powerful magic woman whom he tricks to be his ally. As Taylor writes: 'The shaman's story can (...) include an epic romance. It is usual that one of the spirits he encounters will become his chief magical companion, sometimes called his double-soul. If this spirit is a female being it may be referred as the wife of the shaman' (1985: 29).

A further similarity between Sedna and Brancaflor is that both are presented as inextricably linked with their father in a tense and continual confrontation. But so, too, is the daughter of the Rákshasa in the 11th century Indian *Ocean of Story*, so this link interweaves with age-old oedipal conflicts, as is apparent in so many heroine tales.

The binary themes of unveiling and concealing, pervade the tale in all its variations. The whole plot unfolds as a game of hide and seek whereby defense and attack are hinged on concealment. The hero has to conceal from the devil the help he receives from his daughter. In many variants the devil disguises himself and his family as one of the impossible tasks he sets the hero, usually as a horse or cart. The eloping couple evade the devil's pursuit by transforming themselves into a series of *tableaux vivants*. Conversely, the couple survive as such through Brancaflor's revealing to the prince her own and her family's identity behind the disguises. The theme of revelation is also basic to the episodes in which the hero has to recognize Brancaflor from among her sisters; and, in the last section of the story, when Brancaflor unveils her identity by triggering the hero's memory – in contrast to her deceit of her other male suitors.

In our version the first meeting between Branca Flor and the hero neatly condenses the double function of knowledge: revealing to the ally and concealing from the enemy. Branca Flor regains her clothes by naming the hero and promising him her help: 'Give me back my clothes, João, and I promise to give you my help'. Her capacity to help him is shown by her knowledge of his name, and the pact between them is based on the fact that they know each other: he has seen her naked, she knows his name. Then Branca Flor reveals her own name and tells him to conceal their knowledge of each other from her father: 'Listen, I am the daughter of the master of the house and my name is Branca Flor. Do not tell my father you know me. I shall be there to help you'. Branca Flor's knowledge of the hero's name signals her as the devil's daughter. She knows as much as the devil because she is of his same substance. By gambling with the devil the hero leaps into the dark and becomes his prey. But from the moment he discovers (discovers!) Branca Flor, the hero's game is likely to be won as he is faced with choices that amount to discerning what, within the devil's power, is hidden and what is apparent. Branca Flor is precisely that aspect of the devil which is not apparent. From the hero's perspective, she is the hidden, redemptive side of evil.

Besides fitting the shamanic scenario perfectly, the underlying statement that power resides in secret knowledge underlies the rules of the game that is now being played. Our gambler learns that his life is at stake and that the game can only be won if the cards in the enemy's hands are revealed and his own are concealed. He would lose if the devil did not have a daughter who would know and reveal the devil's game, thus shifting the odds in the hero's favour – that is, if darkness did not have its own redemptive aspect.

The enactment of the hero's game starts as he is faced with two options: between the two bathing maidens he makes the right choice, Branca Flor. As an ally from the opponent's camp, she now reveals him the right options. The first is the choice between two paths.

Branca Flor instructs the prince on how to reach the devil's palace, along the narrow path rather than the broad road – probably an allusion to the biblical allegory of the narrow and wide paths, leading respectively to heaven and to hell. Branca Flor's advice leads the hero, as it happens, to the devil's abode. Besides the irony conveyed by this inversion, it is also certainly implied that the devil's dwelling is not the Christian hell, but a space of hard apprenticeship from which one returns once one's task is finished – just as happens with the underworld of shamanic initiation, or the initiatory ordeals connected with rites of passage.

Bearing in mind that this is also the story of Branca Flor's own ad-

venture, it is significant that she first appears naked and emerging from the water – as a new-born. But, unlike her sister, from the moment she establishes an alliance with the outsider, she differentiates herself from her family. With the appearance of the hero she starts afresh in an adventure that will separate her from her father and her blood-kin. Her new autonomy involves, paradoxically, a link with a stranger, a pact whereby she kept her robes. In 'Swan Maiden' stories, these same robes, kept and not returned by the hero, were the maiden's magic ability to 'change skin', the means she had to become inaccessible to men, her capacity to undergo a transformation, to appear and disappear. Without them she is pinned down by the man whom she has to marry. With Brancaflor, who is given back her robes, this is not a marriage, it is a pact, an 'engagement'. Brancaflor changes alliances but she keeps her magic, she is still the Devil's daughter in her capacity for transformation.

In our version Branca Flor also tells the hero not to be afraid of a serpent that will appear as he enters the house. This incident is peculiar to this particular version which, on a superficial reading, reinforces the overlay of Christian lore – in the connection between the devil and the serpent. If one is tempted to suspect that this serpent whom the hero meets is none other than a transformation of Branca Flor welcoming him, then the study of tales connected with 'The Little Snake' should help alert us to this other clue that Branca Flor gives the Prince. The serpent, her intrinsic connection with the devil and the forces of the underworld, is also the dark side of her magic which he should not fear. In a Spanish variant from Cáceres, the heroine is cursed by her father to become a serpent for seven years so as to prevent her from marrying the hero (Taggart 1990: 177). When transformed – as a serpent, or as a dove, or as a swan – the woman is unavailable as a wife, she is enchanted, beyond reach but, nonetheless, a woman, whom the hero, in his initiation in foreign territory and under the guidance of Branca Flor, should not fear.

Portuguese lore is well acquainted with the 'Mouras Encantadas', the 'Enchanted Moorish Maidens' known to alternate between human and serpent form, and whose spell can be broken if a Christian kisses them in their serpent form (Oliveira 1898). The two Portuguese versions of 'The Devil's Daughter' recorded by Braga ('A Filha do Rei Mouro' and 'O Cavalinho das Sete Cores') actually depict the heroine as a Moorish maiden – and the underworld as the land of the Moors. Just as with the Turks in the European imaginary, the pagan, dark Moors were viewed in Hispanic folktales as 'the enemy', i.e., the devil or demonic forces of darkness.

7.1.1. *The Difficult Tasks*

In the two versions of 'The Devil's Daughter' just referred to the focus is on the magic flight of a prisoner captured in the wars between the Moors and the Christians. But in the other Portuguese versions, where the hero's captivity consists of being a servant of the devil, this episode is preceded by the episode of 'the difficult tasks'.

These tasks vary in number and there is certainly one level on which they imply a confrontation with a future father-in-law – the employer or rich landowner – a confrontation which is far less metaphorical than a hero's fight with a dragon to win the prize of a kingdom which comes with marriage to a princess. One narrator – Raul Ramos from the Azores (in 'A Filha Mais Nova', my no. 22) – becomes so engrossed with the conflict between the son and the future father-in-law that the tasks occupy most of the narrative. Once the hero marries, his formidable partner becomes a mere 'wife' and disappears from the scene, which is now occupied by a protracted struggle for supremacy between the hero and the old man. The young couple have moved in with her parents, and the narrator relishes the account of the hero's final complete control over his father-in-law: the 'devil' is finally sent to an old people's home! In his study of Spanish folktales, *Enchanted Maidens*, James Taggart (1990) examines precisely how renderings of well-known tales become an expression of the narrators' own socio-psychological conflicts, and how the narratives are used to foster a dialogue between the sexes and the generations.

The difficult tasks can be divided, in the Portuguese versions, into six basic types: (1) the harnessing and controlling of animals, usually horses (in our version goats, then horses); (2) the accomplishment, in a single day, of the whole process of plant germination and growth, and the harvesting of the natural product and its transformation into an article of human manufacture (as with corn, in our version); (3) cosmic displacements (such as bringing the mountains or the sea to the palace); (4) fetching ancestors' tokens from the bottom of the sea (e.g., the devil's great grandfather's guitar). This latter task often entails (5) the killing and dismembering of Brancaflor without spilling any of her blood. The breaking of this rule – one drop is spilled – provides the solution of difficult task (6), that of choosing the true bride from among her identical sisters, as the heroine's finger becomes shortened or marked in some way as a consequence of the spilled blood. In our guide version the difficult tasks belong to the first two categories alone and I shall use alternative versions in the discussion of the other tasks.

(1) Most frequently the hero has to control a horse which literally embodies the devil and his family – each part of the horse's body and

harnessings being one of the family's members. In our tale the hero has first to control five goats by taking them grazing and making sure that they won't run away. The choice of goats as a disguise for the devil's family is found in no other of my Portuguese versions, but tradition justifies such a choice: the devilish goat's feet is distinctive of 'The Lady with the Goat's Foot' in the 14th century Portuguese *Livro de Linhagens* (Braga 1987, II: 70–71); the devil typically appears as a goat in accounts of witches' sabbaths, and the trail left by his goat's feet can give him away when he is in disguise.

The particular form taken here by this motif is central to another type of fairytale, *The Rabbit-Herd* (AT 570), the tale used by Alan Dundes to illustrate his theory of equivalence of allomotifs (Dundes 1982). In that story the hero is ordered by the king to guard a herd of rabbits without losing any. If he succeeds in the task he will marry the king's daughter. Dundes comments: 'The hero is being asked to take charge of the fertility of the king. If he can demonstrate his ability to exercise control over the king's fertility [...] he can triumph over the king and marry the king's daughter' (1982: 96–97). Dundes highlights the connection between the rabbits and the king's female entourage and/or the king's fertility, i.e., power. By controlling the herd of rabbits, the hero has access to the king's women, outdoing the king's power. The homology goes a step further in our tale: the goats actually are the devil and his female wife and daughters. The hero's success in gaining power over the devil's family depends on Branca Flor's alliance with him (as future husband and wife) and, consequently, her betrayal of her kin. The close cohesion of the kin group against any threat to their integrity appears even more clearly in those versions of the story where the devil and his family are disguised as a single horse which will kill the stranger whose task is to tame it. This hostility is headed by the father – the devil – who embodies the jealous undifferentiation of kinship bonds versus the fragmentation of those with marriage bonds. The father/devil fights against differentiation, that is, against marital conjunction.

This jealous, oedipal father – the king in *The Rabbit Herd*, the dragon in *The Dragon Slayer* – is present in multiple guises in an immense range of fairytales. In fact, when it relates to the relationship father/daughter, the oedipal conflict can – and, I would argue, should – also be regarded in the wider context of blood versus marriage bonds.

Rodríguez Almodóvar takes a similar view when he examines the incest theme in heroine fairytales as a reflection of a sociological phenomenon, the transition from an endogamic to an exogamic system. He establishes a binary opposition between a sphere of incest and one

of conjugal relationships, relating them to two primitive systems surviving in a subliminal, unconscious conflict:

> le conflit de deux systèmes sociaux successifs et antagonistes: le régime tribal (chasse, endogamie et propriété communautaire) et le régime agraire (agriculture, exogamie et précapitalisme) [...] à croire quelques psychologues, n'a pas encore atteint l'inconscient collectif ni le conscient individuel. (Rodríguez Almodóvar 1990: 463.)

He justifies his assertions by the example of the tale type *The Maiden Without Hands* (AT 706) in which the maiden mutilates herself so as to avoid her father's incestuous desire:

> Sur cette base, il y a une infinité de contes dans des cultures très différentes qui cherchent ainsi à résoudre narrativement le conflit individuel de l'inceste, lequel réprésente, et symbolise à son tour, le conflit social entre endogamie et exogamie. (Ibid.: 466.)

With 'Brancaflor' we shall see that the individual conflict – which should be examined in its rich symbolic connations – also opens the path to be explored in terms of what Rodríguez Almodóvar calls a 'social conflict'.

(2) The second task in our story belongs to the same category of the control over animals. Here there is no explicit indication that the horses are disguises, the test appears as simply one of control. As with the goats, the hero is instructed by Branca Flor not to unloose them and beat them instead. One could therefore say that the concern of the head of kin – keeping his 'family' together – appears in the shape of these first tasks given to the hero. But, unlike the hero of *The Rabbit Herd*, who succeeds in gathering the scattered rabbits by blowing his magic whistle, our hero succeeds – on the advice of Branca Flor – by not only not releasing them, but by beating them instead. The implication is that, unlike the rabbits, the goats and horses are in fact strong enemies that one is happy to punish. As the device is Branca Flor's suggestion, it certainly denotes her total change of alliances; her family are now her enemies, whom she would physically fight. Nevertheless, the struggle remains basically one of wits – of secrets kept and revealed. The whole tale is a magical contest of disguises and transformations.

The horse is a very strong feature in the sequences concerning the hero's adventure in the tales of 'The Devil's Daughter'. It appears in the 'difficult tasks' and, as we shall see, it is determinant in the flight sequence, where it forms a triad with the two lovers in the episode of the transformations. Its presence ceases to be felt in the last sequence, the heroine's adventure.

Branca Flor always insists that the hero hide from the devil the fact that they have met or that she has helped him. This is a consistent motif throughout the versions, very often sealing the narrative flow with an emphatic rhymed couplet – such as 'If I saw Gloria or she saw me, let the fishes of the sea eat me here' ('Se eu vi Glória/ ou esta a mim/ Peixes do mar/ comam-me aqui') ('Um Grande Jogador', my no. 6). Branca Flor's alliance with the hero, i.e, the betrayal of her kinship bonds, must be kept a secret. In our tale she advises the hero to swear by Saint Anthony, 'If I saw Branca Flor, may St. Anthony take me' ('Se eu vi Branca Flor, Santo António me leve') – this humorous equivalent to 'May the devil take me' ('O diabo me leve') in the Devil's 'upside down world' invites salvation rather than damnation – Saint Anthony is the patron of lovers. Narrators seem to relish the clever word-play in the verbal confrontations with the devil, a verbal form of disguise: Cabral, in his analysis of the story, emphasises the casuistic cleverness with which Brancaflor advises the Prince to evade the devil's questions without commiting the sin of lying (Cabral 1977).

From the moment she meets the prince, the devil's daughter becomes also the devil's enemy. Nevertheless she is only capable of helping the hero in his tasks because her demonic powers – i.e., her sharing of her father's substance – are kept intact. Throughout his tasks the hero fumbles in the dark, guided alone by the devil's own wisdom, in the shape of his daughter. This same substance that Branca Flor shares with the devil can only serve the hero because she betrays her father. But she is not only serving the hero, she is using him to serve her own interests, her own process of differentiation from her family. She is marked as the heroine from the moment when (unlike her sister) she makes an alliance with the enemy who stole her clothes, thus siding with the outsider against her father. In other words, when she decides to break the oedipal bond and graduate from being a daughter into loving a man other than her own father. She thus engages in her own adventure which first entails a hidden war with her father, as is shown in the first two tasks. In these tasks, as much the hero's as her own, she breaks the bond with a father who, it becomes clear, would rather kill her than relinquish this bond.

(3) If the first two tasks enact Branca Flor's fight against the father's will to keep her, the third task shows the success of this previous fight. She is no longer shown as a daughter rebelling against a father but as a mature woman in the process of unfolding her powers assisted by her own male partner. These powers share of the devil's nature but they are now her own. The hero is told to sow corn in the morning and bring the devil bread baked from that same corn by the evening. The shamanic associations of this feat are attested in many accounts. To quote Taylor,

> North American Indian shamans and stage conjurers are fond of [a trick] that has a very interesting history. It is the magical production, in a few minutes, of a full grown plant from a seed. This kind of trick has been long associated with religious performances and supernatural experiences. The Maya medicine men were reported to "cause the flowers to open before their time" [...] In the East, this trick was often done with a mango, and it was very popular with Indian jugglers and magicians. [...] The magician plants a mango seed in a small hole in the ground and makes a mound of earth over it which he covers with a piece of cloth. After various magical incantations he removes the cloth and reveals a new green shoot. This is covered again and, after more spells, a small mango tree appears, blooms, and then produces fruit. (Taylor 1985: 138.)

When referring to this episode in fairytales, Propp says 'this is precisely what was demanded of shamans and sorcerers at the dawn of agriculture', documenting his assertion with material taken from Frazer's *Belief in Immortality* (Propp 1984: 419, my translation).

This time the hero has to rely entirely upon Branca Flor. Like an infant, he cries and is attended by a mother who lulls him to sleep – on her lap. It is this mother figure who is the ultimate shamaness, the holder of life's mysteries of transformation and growth. In *Patterns of Comparative Religion*, Mircea Eliade documents the practical and symbolic role of woman in the dawn of agriculture (1958: 257–258). The archeologist Marija Gimbutas, interpreting the iconographic evidence from early neolithic Europe writes: 'The seed must have been recognized as the cause of germination and growth, and the pregnant belly of a woman must have been assimilated to field fertility in the infancy of agriculture [...] The belief that woman's fertility or sterility influences farming persists almost universally in European folklore' (Gimbutas 1982: 201) .

The tradition of associating woman's fertility with the germinating power of the crops is very ancient indeed. It is attested in rituals which left their mark on Christian hagiography and reflected in the widespread corn miracle legends of Mary's flight into Egypt (Berger 1988: 89–104), of which there are many Portuguese examples. Mary, on her flight to Egypt, miraculously ripens the corn of a farmer who then can truthfully tell the pursuing soldiers that she passed by when the corn was being sown, thus deluding them into thinking she must have passed by a long time previously. Insofar as they are performing the same miracle, Mary and Brancaflor share the same functional ancestry.

Branca Flor, however, cannot perform this magic on her own. She is the orchestrator of what is a hierogamic vegetation cult. For the feat to be accomplished, the hero is requested to sleep. The links between 'Swan Maiden' stories and shamanic myths and practices, asserted by

Hatto, would lead us to relate the hero's sleep to the trance in which the shaman 'travels' to the otherworld where Sedna gives him the assistance he requires. The fact that in the majority of versions the hero is requested to sleep by resting his head on Brancaflor's lap indicates that although he is unaware of it, she needs his assistance. The magic wand that she holds – invoking the power of God as a modern rural wise woman would – is perhaps a phallic symbol of woman's need of a male presence in the process of her fertility power.

The same motif often appears in *The Dragon Slayer*. The hero sleeps with his head resting on the maiden's lap, only awakening just as the dragon appears in order to challenge him. There it is he who needs the strength of the closeness to the maiden's lap in order to overthrow the dragon who is, in fact, as jealous a keeper of maidens as the devil in our tale. By overcoming the princess's maidenhood, the hero can defeat the 'dragon' of barrenness.

The Italian Jungian scholar T. G. Gallino devotes a chapter of her book *La Ferita e il Re* to a modern Sardinian ritual which she aptly calls 'an annunciation of male fertility': after the sowing of crops a man is ritually dressed and masked as a woman by marriageable girls, after which he gallops towards a star-shaped target which he will pierce with a lance. If he succeeds he will be cheered by the whole village gathered for the occasion, because his success will be a sign that the crops will be good. In this celebration of the male part in the cosmic mysteries of fertility the man boasts of his power when he is cared for and enveloped by the feminine – just as in the sexual act (Gallino 1986: 48ff.). It is this power that lies at the core of the claims to bisexuality in the shamanic world (Linn 1987). The devil asks something impossible for the hero to accomplish, unless he is in alliance with the magic of woman, hence the devil's suspicion that Brancaflor has something to do with the prince's success.

The devil's request, however, goes further: bread should be baked, ready to eat, from the ripe corn. Brancaflor's magic is not only generative but civilizational. By this further transformation, she creates culture from nature through a process that mirrors the natural process of birth-giving. The bread being cooked in the oven is analogous to the child being 'cooked' in the womb. But it is culture in its fundamental nurturing attributes.

Another variant on this second category of tasks spells out the origin of the connection between fertility and feminine miraculous magic. The hero is presented with a room full of women ('varinas', fishsellers) and is told to make them all pregnant, so that a room full of uniformed soldiers, complete with guns and rucksacks, be ready by the evening (my no. 21) (note the strange similarity between this task

and one of those given Jason in the ancient Greek myth – the sowing of dragon's teeth from which armed soldiers spring out). The multiplication of women and the reduction of the time in which the feat is to be accomplished is a hyperbolic expression of fertility.

In the coupling taking place in this *hieros gamos* Branca Flor appears both as a Madonna with the hero as a child on her knees and as her father's daughter, the demonic performer of wonders. Her past bond with her father enables her to now fully accomplish an act that prefigures a break of that same bond. Through this link that is maturely sexual, i.e., with an outsider, the devil's daughter defeats the devil and announces the Madonna. In this enactment of fertility, it is Branca Flor who takes the active role, in an image of feminine potency such as is seldom found in fairytales.

Other variants suggest the danger rather than the magic of this bonding. A task which offers an extraordinary metaphor for the prowess and dangers of defloration appears in an unusual version, 'O Rei Flor de Boninas' (my no. 2). The hero is required, at the instigation of the heroine's jealous sisters, to build a tower, climb it holding on his head a glass of water, and climb down carrying a glass of blood. This he must do without spilling any. The heroine creates a dense fog to conceal events from any prying eyes, causes a tower to rise and lets the hero perform the feat. Could there be any doubt that the creator of this image is perfectly aware of its meaning?

On a sociological level these tasks can of course be seen as rites of passage monitored by the bride's father, tests of a prospective inheritor of the land, of his capacity to handle the running of a farm. The devil is cast as the giver of the necessary tasks that have a double function. Through them the hero proves his worthiness and Brancaflor breaks away from her father and is therefore enabled to exercise her full powers as a woman. Both the hero and the heroine are engaged in an initiation which is prompted by the devil, the father. They make use of each other for their own purposes, for their own initiation. His initiation is to finally win the gamble with the devil, to pull through his adventure; hers is to disengage herself from her family and create a different bond.

One of the tasks which fully conveys the initiatory dimension of the heroine's adventure requires reference to the plot of another version published by Oliveira, 'Branca Flor' (my no. 7). In this version the hero is required to fetch from the bottom of the sea a guitar that the devil had lost five hundred years earlier. Branca Flor instructs him to cut her into pieces in a basin, making sure that no blood spills, and then throw the contents into the sea. Three hours later she returns. Because a drop of blood was spilled, her finger is marked. This mark will identify

Branca Flor when the hero is asked to choose his bride from amongst the devil's daughters by the sight of their hands alone.

The task of bringing from the bottom of the sea something that belongs to the remote past or to someone dead long ago (e.g., the devil's great grandfather) entails a journey that can only take place if the voyager is killed. It is a journey to the realm of the dead and, in this sense, it is the heroine's counterpart to the hero's own journey to the world of the devil.

The shaman in Rasmussen's account who endeavours to go to Sedna's world by 'dropping down to the bottom of the sea' is surrounded by the members of the household who 'may hear deep sighs and breathings of persons long dead' (Rasmussen 1979: 308–309). The fairytale now plainly shows that such a journey can only be taken through dying, and only Branca Flor can undertake it on the hero's behalf because she already belongs to the underworld. For her, far more dangerous will be her later feat of moving from the Devil's world to that of the Prince.

There follows, in truly shamanic style, a 'death and resurrection show' such as that witnessed by a fourteenth century traveller to China who tells of seeing a performance in which a conjurer threw a rope in the air, asked a boy to climb up it until he disappeared in the sky, then followed the boy up the rope until the conjurer, too, disappeared: 'Bye and bye he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the trunk and last the head. Then he came down [...] took the lad's limbs, laid them together in their places and gave a kick, when, presto, there was the boy who got up and stood before us' (cited in Taylor 1985: 138). The 'other world' is, in this case, the sky.

As with the growing of the crops, the hero has a part in this 'show'. On Branca Flor's instructions he, too, is a shaman, by carefully dismembering her following a proper procedure – so as not to spill any blood outside the container. In 'Um Grande Jogador' (my no. 6) the dismembering of Brancaflor follows the first meeting between her and the hero: 'Since you have seen me naked, I belong to you alone [...] You must cut me into four pieces, throw them into the lake and then recover them, without a drop of blood falling to the ground'. On another level, this shamanic feat of death and resurrection – this journey to and return from the world of the dead – is also an act of defloration. The spilled blood marks the bride, making her different from the jealously preserved kinship group of undifferentiated virgin sisters.

When Propp argues that the hero's journey is modelled on the journey to the underworld, the realm of the dead, he points out that this is why it is impossible for the hero to recognize anyone, as the living cannot see the dead (Propp 1984: 89ff.). In a Russian version of

this tale type, 'The Sea King and Vassilisa the Wise' (Afanasiev 1945: 427–437), the sisters are twelve, all alike – there are a hundred sisters in the tale of Rákshasa in *The Ocean of Story* – and the prince cannot tell one from the other if Vassilisa doesn't pre-arrange a way to differentiate herself. In the tale we are exploring the theme of 'invisibility' occurring from likeness is more remote: the sisters are impossible to distinguish because only their hands are shown, and Branca Flor's is distinguished by the mark on her finger.

There is, indeed, a sense in which these women are as dead – in this taboo realm where they are magic and virgin – and a death and resurrection is required of Brancaflor. A dive into the world of the dead, a rebirth from the waters of death and life, a disintegration ('miga-me bem migada', 'mince me well', says Brancaflor in the version recorded in Lopes Dias' *Etnografia da Beira*, my no. 10) followed by triumphant re-integration. All in all, these images appear as a gloss on Brancaflor's change of status. From the Devil's land – the underworld – she will pass on to the Prince's land – the world of the living. From being a virgin, undifferentiated from her sisters, she will be married, marked as different, un-like her sisters. She enacts her rebirth into a different reality; this is what a rite of passage, in this instance from maidenhood to womanhood, is about. She is now alive in a sense in which her sisters are not, and can, therefore, be recognized by the hero.

She is thrown into the sea and comes back to land, she goes in blood and returns healed, she disappears and appears again, she plunges into darkness and comes back to the light, she goes into the sphere of wetness and returns to the sphere of dryness. On a different level, she re-enacts her magic of alternation between two realms, the female swing of cyclical transformations. The Devil's dwelling is suggestively called, in Ataíde Oliveira's version with the same title, 'O Palácio das Águas Tristes', 'The Palace of Dismal Waters' (my no. 4). Looking at the chain of homologies that the different versions give us, these 'dismal waters' of Brancaflor's own territory are as much the waters of death as they are the 'wet' realm of menstruation in the feminine cycle.

In a fascinating variant (Coelho's 'Brancaflor', my no. 8) belonging to my third category of tasks, the hero is told to bring the sea to the palace – to 'ring' the palace with the sea! Brancaflor gives the hero a glass of blood that she took from her arm and instructs him to spill it carefully around the palace, warning him of the danger of spilling any on himself. He carries out her instruction, which has the effect of bringing the sea to the palace, but by spilling a drop on his finger he loses it. Propp considers the 'mark imposed on the hero' as a function whose consequence is his final recognition: 'the hero is marked by a kind of sign, a seal, a bloody token, the scar from which will enable

him to be recognized' (Propp 1984: 397, my translation). However, the episode in the tale being considered has lost its functional significance as there is no follow-up to it. It mirrors the mark on the heroine's finger after the dismemberment episode, which has the function of making her recognizable amongst her sisters. Although the purpose of the hero's loss of his finger is not structural in this story, it serves to highlight the ambivalence of Brancaflor's magic, as 'black' as it is 'white'.

This dangerous and powerful blood which Brancaflor brings to the hero, euphemistically extracted from her arm, belongs to a magic which is more akin to what the Andalusian people call *calio*: 'During the time of their period women possess certain involuntary destructive powers. If they pick flowers they wither; they can kill bushes and trees with their touch and can wound the back of an animal upon which they ride. Their presence suffices to put out the fire in a lime-kiln or a plaster-kiln' (Pitt-Rivers 1971: 197).

Beliefs in the evil power of menstruation are universal. In her survey of the historical practices and beliefs about the process of giving birth in Portugal, Teresa Joaquim quotes from the observations of the seventeenth century physician Morato Roma on the subject of menstrual blood:

> It is so poisonous that trees or grass on which the slightest drop of such blood falls become dry or barren; cloths or even threads from cloths which have come in contact with it [...] are poisonous to healing wounds. Some say that if a woman who is in the conjunction of blood enters the room of a wounded man who has nearly recovered, he will inevitably suffer a relapse or even die. (Joaquim 1983: 36.)

Blood pollution of the earth is, according to the Old Testament, the main reason for the Flood (Frymer-Kensky 1988), and the positive purpose of Brancaflor's blood is, in this version, to cause the water to flood the area surrounding the devil's palace. The tale of Brancaflor celebrates female magic in its double aspect, fertile and menstrual: she is often called a 'saint' and she is also, of course, the demonic devil's daughter, the woman of transformations, the dove, the serpent.

In the version of Brancaflor with the dismemberment episode referred to earlier (my no. 7), after the hero has chosen the right bride by the mark on her finger, Branca Flor knows that now that they are married her father will want to kill them both, that now her life is as much in danger as his had been. She leaves some spittle on her pillow which will answer her father when he calls during the night to ascertain whether she is asleep. The spittle can, in fact, be considered Branca

Flor's first disguise from her father, prior to those of the magic flight. Pina-Cabral interprets the drying spittle as the maiden's 'death' to the world of the Devil.

Magician of fertility mysteries, Branca Flor is able to create from her mouth fluids the life of voice. The fact that this voice is created to respond, throughout the night, to an imperious father's calls, suggests an aggressive incestuous interference. This implication is confirmed in our reference version when the father thrusts his sword into what he thinks is the shape of his sleeping daughter – a wax doll that Branca Flor leaves behind, as her effigy. In another version (Coelho's 'Brancaflor', my no. 8) the devil's sword is hanging from the ceiling over her bed, ready to kill them. The Spanish version from Cáceres referred to earlier illustrates beautifully the devil's feelings towards his daughter and son-in-law. Having pierced two barrels of wine believing that these were the two lovers the devil 'tasted what he thought was their blood. "How sweet is the blood of my daughter! It's delicious." He tried the other. He said, "Oh, my! How sour! How sour is the blood of my son-in-law!"' (Taggart 1990: 177). These images convey the same murderous reaction of the incestuous father against the daughter who is now beyond his reach, after her own initiation into mature womanhood. This, as we saw, was achieved through Brancaflor's own role in the tasks meant for the hero. As a couple they cannot survive in the realm where the devil only allows the presence of blood-kin. The father's function is also equivalent to that of the dragon in the wedding-night in 'The Prince Turned Into Stone', the maiden's 'monster' who is jealous of her parting with her maidenhood.

7.2. *Second Sequence. The 'Magic Flight'*

Branca Flor asks the Prince to make ready the thin horse for their flight but he chooses the fat one instead, because of which they will only be able to ride 'as fast as the wind' whereas the devil will be able to ride 'as fast as thought'. There is nothing exemplary, heroic or clever about the hero's actions, it is his journey that is exemplary. All he has to do is let himself be guided. In this instance he fails, he disobeys instructions. In Propp's terms this functions as a 'violation of an interdiction' resulting in a 'villainy' which, in my view determines the second sequence of our tale: the flight from the Devil – the next set of adventures which would not have taken place otherwise. It is a failure that propels the action into yet a further adventure.

Earlier we analysed a failure of the hero which led to an immediate successful outcome: in the versions containing the dismemberment

episode, his failure not to spill the blood led to the possibility of recognizing, differentiating, his bride from among her sisters. This may be understood as the necessary infringement of blood kinship rules in the devil's realm that 'causes' the couple to marry. Just as with the stealing of the clothes, this failure is, in terms of the plot, a positive action. The choice of the fat horse belongs to a different type.

In conceptual rather than in structural terms, this wrong choice may be regarded as an error that demands reparation in the shape of a further adventure. Following Claude Brémond, Liszka (1989: 113–116) regards each failure of the hero or victory of the villain as the generator of a new sequence in the fairytale which therefore gains in entertainment value. The fewer the failures or villainies, the simpler the tale. The failures that he has in mind belong of course to this second type. They are obstacles that complicate the action.

In the tales of 'The Devil's Daughter' the choice of the wrong horse is mandatory, as it leads to the Magic Flight of obstacles and transformations which, even more than the episode of the difficult tasks, characterizes the tale. This second sequence in the structural analysis of the tale stages with dramatic intensity an episode in which the hero and the heroine, running on the same horse, appear and act as a couple, and yet are at two diametrically opposite points in their adventure. Using Propp's terminology, the hero *returns* and the heroine *departs*, marking the end of the journey for the hero and its beginning for the heroine. It therefore makes sense that the final sequence should be considered a heroine's tale.

She now physically wrenches herself from her father and her kin, leaving her territory in order to enter that of her husband's. And he reaches the end of his adventure by leaving the alien territory of adventure and returning home. And yet, although they are each pursuing two different objectives, they are both running away from the same danger, which stems from the very fact that they are now a couple and the flight stages, in its different scenes, the intimate complementarity that they make. It is this intimacy that compels the outcome of the last sequence.

In a Lévi-Straussian perspective of 'paradigms' of concealment and unveiling, the hero errs in his choice of the horse because he falls for appearances in a realm of disguises. As with the choice of the narrow path earlier on, the right choice of the thin horse shows how one is blind in the world of appearances, in this enacted game that implicates the Devil and where bluffing is the rule. In one version of Brancaflor (my no. 7) the elements of trust, alliance, disguise and appearance work themselves in a complex choreography in the episode preceding the flight: the devil *trusts* Branca Flor's word – her spittle – and falls for

her disguise. The hero *doesn't trust* her word – her 'spittle'? – and falls prey to appearances. In the reference text the devil takes Branca Flor's appearance – the doll in her shape – for her reality.

This flight, because it takes place in between the territories of the two families, is the one sphere in which the lovers can be united. It is the space of conjunction that neither the territory of Branca Flor's family nor that of the Prince's allows. Each other's blood family means disjunction for them as a couple. And we now witness that precisely the 'flesh' (the *fat* horse) that brings them together is going to defeat the devil, through a kaleidoscope of appearances. Should the reader have any doubts as to the connotations of the act of lovers galloping along on the same horse, I am convinced that a vivid telling of the tale, complete with gestures, a *performance*, would soon dispel them. It was only when I actually *told* an audience the story of 'Oxface'(Braga 1987, I: 83–86, 'A Cara de Boi'), a tale I had analysed previously at some length: (Cardigos 1988), that I fully realized why the heroine's face is disfigured into that of an ox when she rides away with her lover and is so cursed by her mother. This conjunction of horse and lovers is both vulnerable to the devil's persecution and good enough to outwit the forces of disjunction embodied in the Devil and his family. As we shall see, this apparent contradiction will be refined and clarified as the plot unfolds.

Branca Flor evades her father's persecution by creating obstacles or by disguising herself and her lover. Our version has a particularly ingenious way to show that the lovers' horse – the one that runs as fast as the wind – can outwit the devil's horse – which runs as fast as thought. When the devil realizes that the lovers have run away he consults the world map, where he can spot where they are – this being, indeed, a cosmic flight. As he then mounts the horse as fast as thought he is immediately where they are. But then Brancaflor creates fog out of a tube that she blows and the devil can no longer *think* where they are, so he has to return home to consult his world map. So, either by creating screens or disguises that blank the power of thought, Branca Flor compels the devil to return home and consult his map.

Our version has samples of both obstacles and disguise evasions. After blowing the tube that creates fog, she then blows through another tube and a large river is formed. Some versions specify that she blows smoke and salt from the tubes. Traditional cultures in Africa, South America and Australasia in which men hold in high esteem their ritual flutes, have in common a myth that accounts for the transmission of power from women to men: the flutes had been stolen from the women, who originally held the power because they possessed them; the men now keep them but, unlike with the women, the flutes

don't play of their own accord (Knight 1988). There is an homology between these flutes of power and Branca Flor's tubes which she blows thus causing cosmic upheavels. Far from being phallic symbols, it is their convexity that is stressed, the female 'hollowness' that rebels against what or whoever prevents it from generating wonders. Here they function as barriers against the father, though some versions are explicit that they wouldn't deter another woman, the mother. They are also barriers against the past, now that she is about to cross a new threshold.

Sacks, haircombs, and also needles (or pins) found in other versions, are alternative instruments of her power. These images of female potency have such symbolic clarity that they are close to metaphors. Sacks for the womb, combs for the sexual symbolism of female hair, pins and needles for typical tools of feminine work.

Branca Flor's magic wand, used earlier to cause the wheat to grow, is now used to bring about the transformations. In order to perform them she also needs the assistance of her lover and of the horse on which they ride. The 'pictures' to be enacted project metaphors of happy conjunction. The two transformations mentioned in our tale are by far the most usual, spread throughout Europe. Branca Flor becomes a land which the hero cultivates disguised as a gardener; the horse becomes the wall in which the field is confined. The Devil, who wins at games, proves to be impervious to poetry, he cannot get through the surface of meaning. When he asks the supposed gardener if he had seen the two lovers, the hero answers that he did at the time when he was planting the garden. This is a curious echo to the corn miracle of Mary's flight into Egypt, which we referred to earlier, showing how the theme of the Corn Goddess hovers over this particular tale, as well as Brancaflor's pervasive connection with the figure of the Virgin.

In the next transformation Branca Flor becomes a saint, the hero a sexton and the horse, a chapel. Again, the horse is the setting for a different metaphor of love. Now the woman is a figure of worship and the hero the sexton who attends to her. Usually, the disguised gardener or sexton pretends to be deaf or an imbecile, misunderstanding the devil's questions and inviting him instead to buy a lettuce or worship the saint – Brancaflor's disguises. The ironic implication seems to be that, had he accepted either offer, the devil would have been able to recapture his daughter. This can also be inferred from his wife's outburst that in both cases he had just missed the fugitives. In Braga's 'O Príncipe que foi correr sua Ventura' (my no. 14), she tells him, in exasperation: 'had you brought along a bit of the saint's robes or a flake of the wall-paint, I would have them now in my power'.

The third most common disguise is just as transparent. Brancaflor

becomes a lake or a well, sometimes a boat, with the hero as a water drawer, a boatman, a fish. They are all allomotifs for an image conveying the womb – the water, the boat – with the hero as child and/or lover.

I have been putting forward the suggestion that the states of enchantment followed by disenchantment in fairytales correspond to a rhythm of disjunction from and conjunction with marital ties. Does the sequence of the 'magic flight' that we have just analysed disprove this hypothesis? It would seem that this scene in which magic blossoms corresponds precisely to the time that finally brings together the lovers. One should note, however, that this display of magic is under the control of the heroine. She is not 'enchanted', on the contrary, she is flying away from a sphere of 'enchantment' which she can fight with her own resources. These resources are magic because this is how the feminine protagonist is portrayed in this tale. In this context, 'magic' is what in a different genre we would call poetry, the transmission of a feeling or a state through an array of imagery. Unlike the heroines of most fairytales, Brancaflor is magic. She is like the witches or good fairies, who always express love or rejection through a magic action. It will be also through magic that she conveys her rejection of unwanted suitors and finally provokes the recognition of her husband. As Michèle Simonsen rightly points out it is nevertheless assumed that, once recognized and firmly married, the heroine will be 'tamed' by her husband and cease to be 'supernatural' (1985: 238). As if in the married sphere there is no longer place for the feminine 'magical' capacity for transformations.

If the Devil cannot see through appearances, Brancaflor's mother, his wife, often can. The Devil's wife combines the Devil's 'evil' with the female magic of Brancaflor. Because she shares of the essence of both the Devil and of Brancaflor, she will be the effective enemy, the negative bridge between the two worlds, capable of passing the curse from one to another.

In Braga's 'O Príncipe que foi correr sua Ventura' (my no. 14) the devil's wife accompanies him and, although she fails to catch the fugitives she sees through their more arbitrary disguise: the heroine is an eel (a 'snake'?), the hero a tortoise (harder and slower?) and the horse is the well (again, their 'environment'). But it is usually she – and not the devil – who has the power to cast the curse that causes the prince to forget Branca Flor. In our reference text she predicts: 'When João reaches the palace his mother will embrace him from behind and he will never again remember our daughter'. This amounts to a statement of belief in the prince's own blood kinship ties, that they will be strong enough to repel the outsider, Branca Flor, just as her father and mother had repelled him.

It is from the other two active female figures in the tale, the two mothers, that the content of Branca Flor's own adventure – the last sequence – derives. They function in alliance with each other: her mother casts the spell whereby the prince forgets Branca Flor, and the prince's mother fulfils, with her embrace, that same spell.

7.3. *Third Sequence. Oblivion and Recognition*

Although she is able to successfully escape from the realm of her kin, Branca Flor cannot avoid her mother's curse which appeals to the prince's own kinship bonds. These bonds, by overriding the couple's ties, make the prince forget Branca Flor. At this point I should stress again how the tale gradually becomes more focused on Branca Flor. Starting as the hero's helper (as Aarne–Thompson would have it) she becomes the target of misfortunes and, by the time we come to the final part, it is her fate alone that one is concerned with: she is alone, forgotten, and regarded as a prostitute.

The distribution of hero roles between the two halves of the tale is, however, not so neat, in that, from beginning to the end the destinies of the prince and Brancaflor are interwoven. As pointed out earlier, this tale provides a very good example for Holbek's argument that a fairy-tale should always be regarded as if it had a hero and a heroine (1987: 356–357). One can in fact follow the hero's fate throughout the second half should one choose to regard the hero's loss of memory as the pivotal episode whereby he loses all he had gained and learned in the course of his journey, an approach I followed in my analysis of 'A Filha do Rei Mouro' (Cardigos 1988). All the hero gained in his journey, which is embodied in the heroine, is lost unless he remembers. From this perspective the tale reflects the Jungian truth that, unless the riches of the unconscious – the *anima*, as we are dealing with a male hero – are integrated in consciousness the fullness of one's being is lost. The heroine's efforts to bring back the hero's memory can thus be regarded in the sequence of her role as a helper.

It is true that the hero never swops roles as a helper: Brancaflor's own magic is always her own helper. But, as we have seen earlier in Propp's own scheme of analysis, the function of recognition brings about a reversal of roles which selects Brancaflor and not the prince for the role of hero. The tale ends well because *she* is recognized.

Conversely, the tale can be seen from the beginning from the woman's perspective, from the moment when, emerging from the water, Branca Flor is 'born' to a reality that will sever her links to her blood-kin and, through an alliance with an outsider she, too, is enga-

ged in an adventure that will make her depart from the Devil's territory.

When the couple arrive in the prince's land, the story tells that the prince temporarily left his bride intending to return to her with his entire court but receives a 'fatal embrace' from his mother and forgets all about Branca Flor. He is, in other words, engulfed by his own kin and she is left alone, an alien in a foreign land – a perfectly symmetrical situation to the first half of the story, with the roles now reversed. Only, she will have to fend for herself, as he forgets the 'marriage' and is prevented by his own kin – his mother's embrace – from recognizing her as his wife. Just as Branca Flor first appeared as the devil's daughter, so the prince now appears as mainly related to his mother.

The fatal embrace is an *embrace from behind* – such was the spell cast by the Devil's Wife. The Prince's mother pulls him backwards, against his consciousness, towards her. And she is the past, his own oedipal bond that precludes any stranger. He is pulled back into childhood and forgets, with Branca Flor, the entire process of initiation that his first separation entailed. The adventure – the willfulness to gamble himself into the unknown – is reversed back into a time of framed security. Forgetting Branca Flor, he forgets the shared experience of adult love and regresses into being an uninitiated youth, a mother's boy without an adventure. In his mother's orbit, he is now what Branca Flor would have been in the devil's realm before she was seen naked and, loving a stranger, made the decision to break with her father.

Many versions feature a 'false bride', a woman who, not being a foreigner like Brancaflor, is 'too close', endogamous in kinship terms, a mother's replacement who, for the plot's purpose, is more plausible as the heroine's rival. But the significant feature remains, throughout the versions, that it is through a kiss or embrace from some female kin that he forgets, sending him into a 'slumber' of oblivion which is in exact symmetry to the stranger's kiss that wakes up Sleeping Beauty from the sleep into which she sank in the midst of her own kin.

The social relevance that this last sequence certainly has for the female narrator and her listeners must not be disregarded. Branca Flor is the abandoned woman who struggles to be accepted by her lover for if she isn't she will be regarded as a fallen woman. I quote from José Cutileiro on the desperate position of the Alentejo woman who has been abandoned by her boyfriend:

> If the namoro [courtship] ends, the chances for the girl to start another are remote. A woman who [...] is known to have had amorous physical contact with another man, is defiled and will not be

> acceptable to another man if he is to keep his ideal self-esteem. (Cutileiro 1971: 96.)

In our fairytale, although Branca Flor builds herself a palace with her magic wand, the plot implacably suggests her role as a prostitute – the outsider par excellence, the utterly unmarriageable woman in the social ethics based on the family. Some versions portray her as living on the border between her own and her lover's realm (as in my no. 12), or in a wood (as with my no. 16), that is, in a place separated both from her own and from the Prince's territory. As we pointed out earlier, both families are spheres of marital (sexual) disjunction for their children and the only sphere where they can be brought together is a space in between.

When we examined tales of *The Snake Helper* and *The Black and the White Bride* in connection with 'The Little Snake', we already came across such an intermediary area, the woman's space, before she moves into the husband's family. We saw that Propp chose not to discuss this occurrence in a ritual or anthropological light, although he devotes a chapter of *Les Racines Historiques du Conte Merveilleux* to exploring the traces of men's houses in fairytales (Propp 1984: 143–214). Yet this space is worth exploring as it appears in many fairytales. In 'Brancaflor' it is a dwelling in which her autonomy is shown in that she is visited by men whose advances she controls, refusing or accepting them. It suggests a space where a woman freely moves between her two modes, 'ovular' and 'menstrual'. But there is no doubt that the narrator views this situation as applicable to that of a prostitute.

Furthermore, I cannot agree with Propp's analysis of this sequence in the tales of 'The Devil's Daughter'. He interprets the heroine's warning to the Prince not to kiss his sister (in the particular version he considers) as an euphemism of what would have been an interdiction to have sex with other women and forget her as a first 'wife', met in what would have once been the men's house (Propp 1984: 170). I believe it makes far more sense within the tale's structure that it is in fact his kin (mother or sister) who make the hero forget his wife.

A nobleman is attracted to Branca Flor and she apparently responds as a prostitute would: 'Come in if you have the money'. As he prepares to enter her bed he becomes trapped in her magic. She asks him to fetch her a glass of water from the well. The well is the one feature explicitly mentioned about her palace: 'In that palace there was a very deep well'. The nobleman spends all night trying in vain to draw water from the well, 'without managing to bring a drop'. This bewitchment episode is particularly striking in its sobriety. Whereas other versions feature two or three suitors before the hero enters the

scene, here there is only the one, as if in symmetry with the heroine's one sister, at the beginning of the story. The whole episode is dominated by the deep well inside Branca Flor's palace – a powerful image for her own sexuality. In the morning she turns the tables on her suitor, mocking him for having been discourteous by leaving her waiting all night for her glass of water, i.e., for having failed her.

Branca Flor is in full control of the game which she sets up. She lures her suitors by appearances – they think she is a prostitute – posing herself as bait to their lust and she traps them. She asks for water and the uninitiated suitor is rendered impotent to fulfil her thirst, compulsively attempting to draw water from a well. The same repetitive nature of the suitors' actions pervades other images used in different variants, such as dressing and undressing or opening and closing of the bedroom door. They are unready for her and remain frozen in poses that suggest a masturbatory impotence. It is fitting that in the morning she dismisses her suitor as having been discourteous. The heroine of 'A Filha do Rei Mouro' (my no. 12) dismisses her suitors in similar terms, for 'having mocked her'. She thus humiliates and frightens the unwanted suitors, who approach her as part of a gang of uninitiated adolescents who, like the hero who has been embraced back into childhood, are prevented from having an adult relationship with a woman.

In our key story, when it comes to meeting the Prince, she makes the same request for a glass of water and he is terrified by the fear that he will fall into the deep well. It is the nature of this terror that triggers his memory of Branca Flor: 'These must be the tricks of the lady Branca Flor!' They are reunited as a couple as soon as the prince recognizes Branca Flor by acknowledging his terror. The mothers' spell is lifted at the sight of the well's depth, a channel to the memory of the time when, by losing himself to the devil, he had found in his daughter a full woman unfolding the splendour of her magic.

The magic of her well is therefore the antidote for a mother's swallowing love, it is what the woman's sexual vagina should be to a mature man: it can echo the nirvanic diving into the mother's womb but it belongs to a further stage of development, and that he is now meant to remember. By remembering the 'tricks of Dona Branca Flor', he remembers scenes such as that in which, lovingly coupled with him, Branca Flor staged the process of fertility by bringing the corn to maturity and, from the corn, the bread was 'oven baked'. Asleep on her lap he was the child as well as the lover. We saw how, in an alternative version, the joint act of death and resurrection with the necessary spilling of blood also suggested the sexual encounter that ultimately freed them from blood-kin and united them as husband and wife.

Just like a patient undergoing analysis, the hero can only recover his

sanity and his wholeness if – at the cost of some frightening or painful experience – he remembers. Triggered by the anxiety produced by her well, he recovers the experience of his adventure which, if forgotten, would cause it to lose its purpose and its meaning.

The first unveiling of Branca Flor's nakedness determines a complex series of motifs which, as we have discussed earlier, were ruled by the binary opposites of veiling and revealing. These motifs culminate in the prince's final recognition of Branca Flor, this time not in a vulnerable nakedness, but in all her power, in the vertigo by the well that triggers the memory of her magic. The story may now come to a happy-end. In Pedroso's 'A Filha da Bruxa' (my no. 11) the hero is led to open a series of doors, behind each of which is a scene of his forgotten life, until he finally remembers – a beautiful image for the patient's travels on the analytical couch. In 'A Filha do Rei Mouro' (no. 12), the hero's memory is triggered through a dialogue between two talking doves that the heroine produces by a sleight of hand. She takes two bowls – two hemispheres – and strikes them together: two separate halves that she brings together to form a whole, one world. From out of them appear two doves, one who tells, the other who remembers. They recall the heroine's magic as well as her love, as if for the profit not only of the prince, but of the audience attending the banquet of his wedding to another bride. Their adventure is therefore recalled so as not to be forgotten: neither by the hero, nor by his audience nor, indeed, by that other audience, that of the narrator and of future tellers.

The tale rests on the assumption that knowledge means power – a theme which is modulated via its motifs connoting veiling and unveiling, revealing and hiding. Hence, the pivotal hinge between the two halves, oblivion, loss of the knowledge acquired by the hero. And the knowledge to be learned and never forgotten can be summarized as the reality of death and rebirth of woman's sexuality – the 'tricks of Dona Branca Flor', as our hero joyfully exclaims. She is the mediator between two worlds, akin to the redeeming Shekinah of the Kabbalah, to be found in the depths of darkness. Yet, unlike the Shekinah, Brancaflor draws power from that very darkness, from her kinship with the devil – the *animus* dimension of woman.

8. Brancaflor as the Devil's Daughter: The Dual Nature of Women

We examined the similarity between Brancaflor's and the Prince's territories insofar as they are both governed by 'families', i.e., structures that favour blood-kinship bonds and rule out (or 'forget') alliances

with outsiders. Let us now examine whether these two territories are governed by the same rules.

Brancaflor comes from a sphere peopled by women who have been given the devil as their head of family and who do not tolerate alliances with male outsiders. It is 'hell', the underworld from which one flees into the world of the living. This world, the Prince's territory, is the sole sphere where a happy-ending of marriage can take place. In general terms, therefore, the Devil's realm is a space of disjunction par excellence. With the devil as its figure-head, this is a realm of demonic women, the devil's wife, and a variable number of unmarried daughters. Two Portuguese versions actually depict the mother as the head of family, 'A Lebre' (my no. 5) and 'A Filha da Bruxa' (my no. 11). The tasks imposed on the hero are only possible if accomplished, or guided, by a woman. They are tests of wisdom and magic rather than strength, tasks that either entail a confrontation with kinship bonds, or tasks connected with female mysteries: death, renewal and fertility. One of the sisters differentiates herself from the others and is then able to accomplish fertility tests – with a male 'sleeping' on her lap.

These devilish women are characterized in several ways. They are hags, as the devil's wife; they are witches, as Brancaflor and her mother as well; and half-human (sometimes birds, sometimes women), as Brancaflor and her sisters. Because they are 'ruled by the devil', their autonomy from 'human' males is perceived as powerful, hostile and magic.

It is a common place by now that many of the women persecuted in the medieval witch-hunts were personally characterized as angry and troublesome members of their societies, and labelled as being in league with the devil. Brancaflor is sometimes explicitly seen as a witch; in Coelho's 'Brancaflor' (my no. 8) the story goes that, after she marries the hero, 'she lost her enchantment but not her power as a witch'. In rural societies, theirs is the realm of non-institutional sacredness, whereas public and political power is reserved for men. We need not go further than our tale to see that the public figure-head for this realm of wild females is the male Devil.

We have discussed earlier the importance of the male devil as the father from whom Brancaflor – the devil's daughter – both distils her own substance and against whom she shapes her own autonomy. It is also the male devil who functionally enables the enactment of male rivalry between lover and father.

These three aspects of the magic and hostile nature of woman – the old hag, the witch and the harpy – have one feature in common. These women are, for one reason or another, temporarily or permanently,

non-ovular or infertile. They all belong to the dark side of the moon, to the sphere of the raw. They are the opposite of what fairytales value for their happy-ending: the prospective mother of many children.

As regards these women's capacity for transformation I shall single out the motif that links 'The Devil's Daughter' to the tales of 'The Swan Maiden'. As pointed out earlier, a common feature of 'Brancaflor' tales is that the women are first spied by the hero as birds alighting on the water and becoming maidens. The birds may be ducks, swans, spoonbills in Russian versions, cranes in Chinese ones, always doves in Portuguese and most European tales. We assigned this feature to the 'Swan Maiden' cycle whose origin Hatto ascribes originally to observations of the migratory nature of such birds. These tales, he argues, are related to shamanic accounts in which the shaman – whose outfit is significantly made of swan's feathers (Hatto 1980: 105) – dares to travel to and return from the 'other world' like those migratory birds. Hatto, however, fails to make the connection between these myths based on the cyclical patterns of swans and the cyclical patterns of women's reproductive and social life. Such a connection is suggested by the apparent beliefs of Siberian peoples that swans had menstrual periods (Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1982: 332). The migratory nature of these birds and the fact that they belong to two realms – the air and the earth, the earth and the water (the Portuguese doves appear as bathing) –, underlines the double nature of these women who periodically have a 'change of skin' that transforms their alliances and behaviour.

There is a Japanese version of the 'Swan Maiden' story, 'Robe of Feathers' in which the maiden's connection with the changing moon is made clear. The maiden offers, in exchange for her robe of feathers, a 'dance that makes the Palace of the Moon turn round, so that even poor transitory man may learn its mysteries'. 'She sang of the mighty Palace of the Moon, where thirty monarchs ruled, fifteen in robes of white when that shining orb was full, and fifteen robed in black when the Moon was waning. As she sang and played and danced she blessed Japan, "that earth may still her proper increase yield".' (Lee 1939: 701–703.)

These scenarios of magic women estranged from men follow the syntax of the model proposed by Chris Knight for the emergence of culture, that of a cyclical alliance of women with their blood-kin, making them temporarily unavailable to their 'husbands' in a periodic switch of social ties linked to the phases of the moon (1991a: 413–416). Driven away as husbands, men would regard the estranged and changed women as magically empowered to master the realm of death by their ability to bleed and not die. Their mastery of the realm

of death would create an easy homology between their space and the underworld – the realm of the dead.

But we soon realize that this is just the basic pattern; each space has its own sequences which are modulations on the same theme. The tasks assigned by the devil entail themselves a process of cooking the raw, be they the taming of wild animals, or, more graphically, the baking of the bread and brewing of the wine as the last stages of the initial sowing of the seeds or planting the vine; or, in its sacrifical aspect, the killing and dismembering followed by the resurrection of Brancaflor. Implicitly or explicitly, this space even ends with a wedding, albeit a frustrated, forbidden wedding that causes the couple to flee.

It is perhaps more accurate to say that this first half enacts the magic caused by the friction of this close succession between the two poles: the more immersed in the negative aspects of this adventure in the devil's realm, the more outstanding the magic of their outcome. But, as a whole, this 'otherworld', the devil's realm of blood kinship which doesn't tolerate a newly married couple within its boundaries is the space of the raw.

Conversely, not all is well in the prince's kingdom, this realm of safety which, once reached, should be the abode of conjugal happiness. A 'curse' passed from the one realm to the other, the one that ties blood kin to blood kin: the prince is embraced by his mother and, as he becomes engulfed in his own blood kinship ties, forgets his wife. The adventure leading to the final recognition is built on disruptions of recognition that take shape in images such as that of Branca Flor's 'impurity'.

Both families are kinship groups that exclude outsiders. Brancaflor first rebels against her kin to ally herself to an outsider. Then (in her own adventure) she becomes an outsider, trying to wrench the Prince from his own kin. In the first part she differentiates herself from the kin in which she was immersed because of a 'husband'. In the second part she casts herself as *too available* – available for sex but unavailable for marriage – luring the Prince sexually to gain him as a husband. In both situations she actively uses her demonic, magic nature, to move from the realm of kinship into that of marriage.

Brancaflor's move from her own kinship to marriage ties can easily be decoded, in the light of my earlier argument, as a move from a menstrual to an ovular state. I am now arguing that Brancaflor fights the Prince's kinship ties with weapons of a menstrual nature and that she does that by impersonating a prostitute.

Let us examine her situation as an outcast from the world of the Prince, a world that wants to select an 'ovular' bride as a princess. In

this world where she is an outsider, Brancaflor has easier access to the Prince within his kin group as a prostitute than she would have as a wife. Her position as an alluring but dangerous outsider can be regarded as a 'liminal' status. This is a term which Victor Turner adapts from van Gennep's 'rites de passage' in order to develop his binary concept of 'communitas' and 'structure'. Turner writes: 'One may well ask why it is that liminal situations and roles are almost everywhere attributed with magico-religious properties, or why these should so often be regarded as dangerous, inauspicious, or polluting to persons, objects, events, and relationships'. And he adds that for 'those concerned with the maintenance of "structure", all manifestations of "communitas" must appear as dangerous and "anarchical" and have to be hedged around with prescriptions, prohibitions, and conditions' (Turner 1974: 95).

The episode in which the heroine ousts those who are drawn to her confirms the paradox. The magic outsider who is regarded as a prostitute is drawn apart from the structured society of organized fertility which is both repelled and attracted by her. In the 'structured' society of the prince's land, the Devil's Daughter embodies, with her magic, the 'power of the weak' which, in the gender code, has always been assigned to the woman. If, in turn, we code the female cycle in the same terms, we should assign the menstrual pole to the 'mystical danger' of the weak as opposed to the ovular pole, in which the power of fertility – potential motherhood – is socially recognized and becomes, even if unstated, the ultimate happy-ending of fairytales.

Brancaflor's isolation could be the reworking of an old social code for 'impure' woman, that is, a woman in menstrual seclusion. Such a woman is not only 'impure', but positively dangerous. Writing of the Muria of India, Verrier Elwin comments, in listing one of the many names for the menstrual period, that '"she is outside", i.e., "she cannot enter the house", bears witness to a woman's periodic seclusion in a menstrual hut'. He adds 'The man who goes to a menstruating woman will die, there is no cure for him, magician and priest alike are helpless. He is lost.' (Elwin 1968: 106, 108.)

The harm that Brancaflor can cause her suitors, together with their inability to have sexual intercourse with her should be seen, in my view, in the context both of her magic and her state of unavailability, in short, her danger as a tabooed woman. Esther Harding gives an interesting interpretation of the universal lore of the evil powers of women during their period, from which derives the custom of their seclusion in menstrual lodges. She attributes this to the irresistible attraction that menstrual women would exert upon men, akin to the period of heat among animals, an attraction which would have to be

curbed for the civilizing process to take place: 'Anything which could so arouse their untamed desire must be considered an "evil". The men of the tribe would be compelled to protect themselves by segregating the dangerous female and in this way protect themselves also from the devastating effect of their own sexuality.' (Harding 1971: 60.)

The logic of Harding's interpretation may be questionable given that animals in heat are ovulating, apparently the opposite reproductive pole to human menstruation. But the paradox works in the association that the Andalusians make between *calio* – literally 'heat' – and the menstrual woman (Pitt-Rivers 1971: 197). The cultural polarity between untamed sexuality and controlled fertility explains Harding's connection between menstrual and sexual woman: she is the 'scarlet woman', as opposed to the wife, whose main role is procreative in the 'structure' of the family.

A short quote, again from Morato Roma, the 17th century Portuguese physician, should dispel any doubts as to the pervasiveness of beliefs in both the binding power of menstrual blood and its dangerousness: 'A certain lady gave some menstrual blood to a friend in the hope that this would make him love her more and never leave her as long as she lived. In fact he was driven hopelessly mad by it.' (Cited in Joaquim 1983: 36.)

Brancaflor lures the suitors and binds the Prince with menstrual magic. He had been bound to her through the magic she displayed in the world of inaccessible women, then, within his own kinship group, he forgets her. Then it is once more Brancaflor's magic as a forbidden woman that draws him back to her. But she uses this power *in order to* be chosen as a wife.

To remember Brancaflor involves remembering her as a wife, remembering them both as a couple. Had the Prince not remembered Brancaflor in this way, he would have been tricked by her, just as all the other unfortunate suitors were. The Prince can only remember if he tames his lust for the alluring outsider. In 'A Lebre' (my no. 5) the heroine patiently teaches him how to undo the knots of her bed curtain laces and, in his eagerness, he keeps forgetting. This wisdom was already present, significantly when the couple were preparing to leave the realm of the devil: in the night that they should have spent together, he cannot resist going against Branca Flor's instructions, and chooses the fat rather than the thin horse, a choice which it is not difficult to see in connection with a bridegroom's eager lust. This is precisely the skill of delayed gratification, the understanding of the dark and full-moons of time, the ground of moral codes that our ancestors had to learn in order to become fully human.

Within the code of the feminine cycle, Brancaflor moves freely

between the two poles and draws magic from both. Just like the migratory birds – the 'swan maidens' – she knows where and who to be at the appropriate time. Empowered by her *animus*, her demonic nature, and discovered by the hero, Brancaflor is fully feminine, 'menstrual' as well as 'ovular' – in her, the full cycle flows.

The physical spatial mediator is the Prince who goes *there* and returns. But, because he forgets, he does not really succeed in bridging both worlds except through Brancaflor. It is she who is the mediator through the dimension of time and only she can close the gap between past and present. By making the Prince remember she inverts time: whereas the present is a regression towards the past – infantile oblivion in the mother's sphere – the past is their adulthood as a couple – their positive adventure towards conjunction.

9. Conclusions

Analysis of 'Brancaflor or the Devil's Daughter' showed that what originally was a masculine quest acquired its present form by the addition of a second section with the forgotten bride episode, a feminine tale. A Proppian breakdown of the tale confirmed this shift in the main role in the tale's last sequence.

It also confirmed the plausibility of an influence of 'Swan Maiden' stories affecting a symmetrical development in the continuation of both 'The Devil's Daughter' and 'Swan Maiden' tales. Whereas 'Swan Maiden' plots continue with a *search for the lost wife* episode, the 'Devil's Daughter' continues wih a *lost husband* sequence. It was suggested that the different reactions of the hero in the stolen robes episode common to both tales (retaining them in the 'Swan Maiden' and handing them back in 'The Devil's Daughter') may have determined the contrasting symmetry of each tale type's last sequence.

The heroine's territory first appeared as the underworld, the space of enchantment and adventure for the hero, in contrast with his own territory. This division proved to be one-sided, for when the heroine's adventure in the Prince's territory was considered, this too was a space of otherness in which she was an outsider. Both territories are spaces of sexual disjunction insofar as they are ruled by kinship bonds. In both sides these have to be broken so that the two protagonists may successfully conjoin. Analysis highlighted the menstrual quality of the heroine's magic, in its dynamics towards the stage of 'ovularity' or conjunction.

The tale may be successfully analysed along the paradigms of veiling and unveiling in its first section, and those of space and time

dominance, respectively the hero's and the heroine's dimensions. The latter is developed in the last section which is anchored on the theme of oblivion and the recapturing of memory, with the heroine as its mediatory agent. The original theme of veiling and unveiling becomes interwoven with that of forgetting and remembering in the last section.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of only four fairytale types – significant though they may be – does not of course allow one to make sweeping conclusions on the nature or significance of *the* fairytale. It may, however, indicate a direction for future analysis.

I began my research with a few questions and, having completed a preliminary survey, with a few hypotheses. My questions dealt with the presence of a feminine voice in fairytales and the forms that this voice could take within a dominant male discourse. One of my hypotheses was that, if heroine tales and, to a certain extent, fairytales in general, belonged to the domain of women, then the voice of women should appear clearly enough to be heard and explored.

Another hypothesis was that the 'good' and 'bad' spatial spheres of fairytales can be decoded into a temporal sequence of two necessary phases, more or less consciously blueprinted on woman's monthly cycle: the menstrual phase, corresponding to the magic, enchanted, negative sphere, a period of sexual disjunction; and the ovular phase, corresponding to the space of normal marital conjunction. What in fairytales appeared as two different spaces to be mastered by the hero could in fact be envisaged as two opposed periods of time within the same cycle.

Two further hypotheses concerned feminine tales in particular. The first was that these tales gave an initiatory dimension to three significant female sheddings of blood, those of menstruation, defloration and childbirth. And that woman appeared in an active mediatory role, namely between spheres of enchantment and disenchantment.

We soon found that 'The Beast With Seven Heads' was a tale with mythical roots, a male quest. The female object appeared in many guises as a hostile force to be overcome, whose ultimate form was death. The feminine was perceived in terms of space, as steps in the rise towards achievement. We suggested the possible intervention of a feminine voice in the crafting of this tale through the humour that tempered the heroic endeavours, pushing them to the point of absurdity, making 'fun' of their seriousness.

'The Prince Turned Into Stone' was a moral tale of more civilized heroic behaviour. Although the heroine is certainly more visible – she is handled courteously as the innocent victim of some ominous curse – she is still dealt with as an 'other'. She is exorcized by one man and, in the process, causes a disjunction between two men; then (through her child), she is used to bring the men back together again. She is the alien that the heroes bring back from another world and whom they use in order to bring their friendship to its highest pitch. In both tales the woman functions as a catalyst that triggers a friendship conflict which, once overcome, allows man to make peace with himself. Of what this figure has to say for herself we learned nothing. In these tales woman is the silent object of dispute, and then of mediation.

We did not find a symmetrical process of mediation in feminine tales, that is, between women with man as its object. The goals were different. In 'The Little Snake' the snake (animal and royal) is the girl's link between the lives of the peasant and the palace, whereas the girl (peasant and human) is the snake's means to recover its human form. They act as mediators for one another and, in the happy-ending, they both are human and royal. In this kind of mediation woman acquires recognition and status (what she most needs?) through loving obedience (on the part of the girl) and the wisdom of waiting (on the part of the snake).

Although in the masculine tales woman had no voice in terms of their female protagonists, she could be heard as the muffled organizer of a male discourse. This was not a conscious woman's voice, but it manifested itself as a presence that determined the path of the male adventure. This syntax found its conscious wording in a heroine tale, 'The Little Snake'. The abstract model underlying the male adventure now became the explicit subject of a feminine adventure, an adventure found differently modulated in the *Snake Helper* tales that shared the same opening sequence as 'The Little Snake'.

These tales brought forth the female perception of the necessity to be governed by a skin-shedding friend in order to emerge in full womanhood. This friend can appear as a rival and mortal enemy, a 'black bride' – until the heroine is ready to appear as the 'white bride'. 'The Little Snake' demonstrated that the ugliness of the 'black bride' is a male perception of the 'wrong' times of woman: in the story the snake is golden and beautiful except for those times when the heroine can be decoded as shedding blood, at those times the snake turns into a horrible serpent. If kept a secret – out of man's sight – this never happens. Woman's 'thread of red and gold' (as the snake appears to the heroine in one of the *Snake Helper* tales) rules the rhythms that alternately estrange her from man and bring them together again.

We argued that the dragons of the masculine tales were an hyperbolic distortion of 'the little snake' – woman's own companion that keeps man away, in awe. The dragon that needs to be killed for the maiden to marry, or the witch who needs to be overpowered so that her ointment may bring life to death, are all male modulations of a theme that is profoundly familiar to woman. She holds the key to their 'inside story'. The voice of feminine tales becomes the syntax of 'The Beast With Seven Heads' and 'The Prince Turned Into Stone' and all the tales of an enchantment that needs to be broken. Woman's blood, her time-calendar, becomes the landscape for achievements in the horizontal space of dragons killed and kingdoms won, and in the vertical space of dealings with and sacrifices to invisible powers.

'Branca Flor or the Devil's Daughter', our final tale, was a story of reconciliation. The hero masters horizontal space and he conquers the vertical space that divides the underworld from the world of the living. In so doing, he manages to achieve what the protagonists of hero tales rarely do, he befriends and marries the 'black and the white bride' in one and the same person: the indomitable witch and the willing wife, the Devil's Daughter and the 'White Flower'. But he forgets, he loses the dimension of time. In order to remember he has to listen to this woman who, in full possession of her two natures, mediates between past and present, between enchantment and disenchantment. With her 'tricks', Brancaflor is the mother of stories.

We may now suggest that the 'gendered' dimensions of space and time are reflected in a double structure in fairytales, regardless of whether the subject of the adventure is a hero or a heroine. The spatial adventure within a linear conception of time pointing to a happy-ending where all difficulties are solved – the 'male' structure. And, in the same tale, a subjacent structure that involves an alternation between contrasting spheres, a pendular movement between oppositions which, if understood as polar points in a temporal cycle, will appear as part of a circular movement. When meaning is assigned to both the linear spatial and circular temporal structures, the hypothesis is that the masculine linear narrative reaches its solution through the affirmation of 'goodness' and denial of 'badness'; whereas the feminine circular narrative conveys that goodness results from the alternation – hence inclusiveness – of what is perceived as good and what is perceived as bad.

The clues given in the stories we have considered may open a path into the 'infinite text' of fairytales, towards the Sleeping Beauty whose finger was pricked and can only wake up with the passing of time, towards the enchanted and impermanent maidens of the Three Oranges of love, towards Cinderella, whose lost shoe, once it is returned to

its rightful owner, ends the swing between rags and riches that previously marked her life.

Compared to myths, fairytales are pure play. Unfettered from serious duties, they soar with the freedom of a kite in the wind. The breath of man may shape its flight. But whose is the hand that holds the string?

APPENDICES

Because of the revision of Portuguese orthography, differences will be found in the spelling of the names of authors, of the titles of books, articles and stories, and of placenames, between earlier and later editions.

The most recently available editions have been given as sources for the texts. Often earlier editions contained more exact information as to the provenance of the texts, and this has been given in square brackets.

Wherever possible the tales have been geographically located by their respective historical Portuguese province, with the exception of those collected in Lisbon, the metropolis.

APPENDIX 1

PORTUGUESE VERSIONS OF AT 303 *The Twins or Blood-Brothers*

The Portuguese versions of this tale that I consulted are listed below, followed by a synoptic comparison.

No. 1. 'A Bicha de Sete Cabeças', in Oliveira n.d., I: 157–159. [No. 57 in the 1900 edition, Loulé, Algarve]. (Used as the reference text in my analysis.)

No. 2. 'A Torre da Má Hora', in Oliveira n.d., I: 112–115. [No. 42 in the 1900 edition, Loulé, Algarve.]

No. 3. 'A Torre de Babilónia', in Braga 1987 [1883], I: 171–172. [No. 48, Porto, Douro Litoral]. [Ranke RP4]. [This is a nearly identical reprint of 'A Torre da Babilónia, Quem Lá Vai Nunca Mais Torna', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 490–492, no. 281. (Porto, Douro Litoral. 25/9/1880) [German translation: 'Der Turm von Babylon – wer hineingeht, kommt nicht lebend davon', in Meier & Woll 1975: 178–180, no. 76], first published in Vasconcellos' article 'Cosmogonia popular portuguesa' in *Vanguarda*, Nos. 34, 35, 38 and 39 (1880).]

No. 4. 'As Postas do Peixe', in Pedroso 1985: 165–169, no. XXIV. [Meãs, Montemor-o-Novo, Beira Litoral]. English translation: 'The Slices of Fish', in Pedroso 1882: 100–105, no. XXV. [Ranke RP2.]

No. 5. 'A Torre da Má Hora', in Pedroso 1985: 103–107, no. XI. [Beja, Baixo Alentejo]. English translation: 'The Tower of Ill Luck', in Pedroso 1882: 45–49, no. XI. [Ranke RP1.]

No. 6. '[A Torre da Babilónia]', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 486–487, no. 279. (Written by one of Vasconcellos' pupils as an exercise. Porto, Douro Litoral. 1887.)

No. 7. 'Um Pescador', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 487–490, no. 280. (Informant: 'Alexandre'. Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Location and date unspecified.)

No. 8. 'O Castelo da Madorna', in Cascudo 1944: 89–93. (Source unknown.)

No. 9. '[O Rapaz e o Gigante]', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 392–393, no. 227. (Informant: Francisco António Pires (Uncle Chico Ferreiro), 71 years old, unmarried, a shepherd who owned some land, a native of Cicouro, Bragança, Trás-os-Montes, he had never been to school. Recorded by team T/2 of the 'Trabalho e Cultura' project of the Serviço Civico programme. 1975.)

No. 10. 'A Torre da Babilónia', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 393–397, no. 228. (Informant: António Dias Almeida, 46 years old, married, a cabinet-maker with some secondary education, a native of Vidual de Cima, Pampilhosa da Serra, Coimbra, Beira Litoral.Collector: Michel Giacometti. January 1979. The informant also used the titles 'A História do Pescador' and 'A Bicha das Sete Cabeças' for this story.)

No. 11. 'A Torre de Nora', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 397–398, no. 229 (No details on informant. Recorded in Santana da Serra, Ourique, Beja, Baixo Alentejo, by team A/3 of the 'Trabalho e Cultura' project of the Serviço Civico programme, 1975).

No. 12. 'A Torre da Madorna', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 398–411, no. 230 (Informant: António Serpa, a 45 year old farmer and fisherman, able to read and write, a native of Santa Cruz das Flores, Azores. Recorded by António Caetano Ramos in 1977.)

No. 13. '[A Luzinha da Má Hora]', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 411–414, no. 231 (Informant: António Manuel, an 11 year old schoolboy, from Vale de Alhinhos, São Teotónio, Odemira, Beja, Baixo Alentejo. Forwarded to A. Machado Guerreiro by Maria Emília Guerreiro, a schoolteacher.)

No. 14. 'Santa Apolónia: Quem Lá Vai Não Torna', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 414–416, no. 232 (Collected from João Lourenço da Costa, known as Uncle Carloto, an 85 year old rural labourer, married, illiterate, from Aldeia do Meco, Sesimbra, Setúbal, Estremadura. Recorded by team E/5 of the 'Trabalho e Cultura' project of the Serviço Civico programme, 19/7/1975).

No. 15. 'Bicha-das-Sete-Cabeças', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 375–381, no. 223 (Informant: António Duarte, 43 years old, illiterate. Collectors: Michel Giacometti and Maria Emília Brederode Santos. Granja do Mourão, Évora, Alto Alentejo. September 1963).

No. 16. 'O Rei dos Peixes', in Soromenho & Soromenho 1984, I: 381–386, no. 224 (Informant: Amadeu Pinto Bernardino, 74 years old, a widower, a rural labourer who worked as a blacksmith in the winter (his previous full-time occupation). Able to read and write, a native of S. Romão, Resende, Viseu, Beira Alta. Recording made by team M/8 of the 'Trabalho e Cultura' project of the Serviço Civico programme, 21/8/1975).

–. 'São Jorge', in Coelho 1985 [1879]: 234–236, no. LII (Coimbra). [Ranke RP3.]

– 'Torre de Babylonia (Variantes)', in Pedroso 1906: 134–135, no. 11 (Oporto) [Pedroso 1988: 332]. [Ranke RP5.]

–. 'A Torre da Babilónia', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 513 , no. 286. (Fragment. Origin unspecified.)

Cape Verde:
–. 'The Two Brothers', in Parsons 1923, I: 263–268, no. 88.

–. 'The Two Brothers', (Variant a), in Parsons 1923, I: 268–272, no. 88a.

Angola:
–. 'Sudika Mbambi', in Chatelain 1964 [1894]: 212–218, no. 5.

Mozambique:
–. 'Os Filhos da Cobra Bona', in Rosário 1989: 237–243.

A. *The Magic Fish*
FM = Fisherman. FW = Fisherman's Wife.
No. 1. FM spares the life of an enormous fish which grants him a large catch of small fish in return. FW says she wants to eat steaks from a large fish, not small fish.
No. 2. FM spares the life of a large fish which grants him a large catch of sardines in return. FW says she wants to eat steaks from a large fish, not small fish.
No. 3. FM spares the life of the King of the Fish. FW demands FM bring her the fish.
No. 4. FM spares the life of a fine fish which grants him a large catch of fish in return. The fish agrees that if FM catches it again FM can take its life.
No. 5. No magic fish episode.

No. 6. FM refuses to spare the life of a very fine fish.
No. 7. FM spares the life of the King of the Fish which promises him a boatload of fish the next time FM goes fishing. FW tells FM to check his next catch and see whether he catches the King of the Fish again.
No. 8. No magic fish episode. A childless couple long to have children.
No. 9. FM spares the life of a fish. FW complains bitterly.
No. 10. FM spares the life of the King of the Fish which promises him large catches of fish in the future. FW tells him she wants to 'see' the fish (which implies its death by asphyxiation).
No. 11. No magic fish episode.
No. 12. No magic fish episode.
No. 13. FM spares the life of a fish.
No. 14. FM catches and spares the life of a fish on 2 successive days.
No. 15. No magic fish episode.
No. 16. FM spares the life of the King of the Fish which threatens him that otherwise FM will never catch any fish again.

B. *The Division of the Fish*
No. 1. When FM catches the fish again it instructs him to divide it into 8 pieces, 2 each for FW, bitch, mare and manure heap. (4 x 2) = 8.
No. 2. When FM catches the fish again it instructs him to divide it into 12 portions, 3 each for FW, bitch, mare and garden. (4 x 3) = 12.
No. 3. When FM catches the fish again it instructs him to divide it into 5 portions, 1 each for FW, bitch and mare, and 2 for his garden. (3 x 1) + (1 x 2) = 5.
No. 4. When FM catches the fish again it instructs him to divide it into 12 pieces, 3 each for FW, bitch, mare and garden. (4 x 3) = 12.
No. 5. No magic fish episode.
No. 6. The fish instructs FM to divide it into 6 pieces, 2 each for FW, bitch and garden. (3 x 2) = 6.
No. 7. When FM catches the fish again he refuses to spare its life and the fish instructs him to give its head to his mares, its tail to his lionesses, and bury its bones in his garden [implicitly: give its body to FW]. (4 specified body parts) = 4.
No. 8. No magic fish episode.
No. 9. When FM catches the fish again it forbids him to eat its flesh himself and instructs him to give its body to FW, its head to his bitch, and its tail to his mare. (3 specified body parts) = 3.
No. 10. When FM catches the fish again it instructs him to divide it into 8 pieces, 2 each for FW, lioness, mare and garden. (4 x 2) = 8.
No. 11. No magic fish episode.
No. 12. No magic fish episode.
No. 13. When FM catches the fish again it says he can kill it and instructs him to divide it into 12 [sic] portions, 2 each for FW, bitch, mare *and himself*, 1 each *to his 2 sons*, and 4 to be buried in his garden. (4 x 2) + (2 x 1) + (1 x 4) = 12 [sic: in fact 14].
No. 14. When FM catches the fish again on the 3rd successive day, it agrees to be killed and instructs him to give its body to FW, its head to his bitch, the bottom of its head to his horse, and to bury its tail in his garden. (4 specified body parts) = 4.
No. 15. No magic fish episode.
No. 16. When FM catches the fish again he refuses to spare it and the fish instructs him to divide it into 6 pieces, 2 each for FW, bitch and garden. (3 x 2) = 6.

C. *The Birth of the Brothers*
No. 1. FW gives birth to 2 boys 'very much alike', bitch to 2 lions, mare to 2 stallions, manure-heap produces 2 scimitars.

No. 2. FW gives birth to 3 sons 'so like one another they appeared to be the same person', bitch produces 3 lions, mare 3 stallions, garden 3 lances.
No. 3. FW gives birth to 2 sons 'very much alike' (the twin can be distinguished by a mark on his face), bitch produces 2 lions, mare 2 stallions, garden 2 lances.
No. 4. FW gives birth to 3 sons, bitch produces 3 lions, mare 3 stallions, garden 3 lances.
No. 5. A mother has 3 sons. They each leave home in turn to travel the world, at which point she provides them each with a lion and a horse.
No. 6. FW gives birth to 2 'very similar-looking' sons, bitch produces 2 lions, lances are made from 2 trees that grow in the garden.
No. 7. FW gives birth to 2 'very brave' sons, lionesses produce 2 lions, mares 2 stallions, garden 2 swords.
No. 8. In response to couple's desire for children, wife has 2 sons [twins, with identical faces, they grow up together, inseparable friends], and on the same day the mare has 2 foals, the bitch 2 puppies, and 2 orange-tree shoots sprout in garden.
No. 9. FW gives birth to 3 sons 'identical, impossible to tell apart', bitch produces 3 identical puppies, mare 3 identical stallions.
No. 10. FW gives birth to identical twin sons, lioness produces 2 identical lions, mare 2 identical horses, garden 2 identical broad-bean plants.
No. 11. No magic births. The story begins with 2 brothers, 'very much alike, very similar to one another', who are already married.
No. 12. Couple have 2 sons, identical twins, 'when you had seen one you had seen both of them'. Mother dies in an influenza epidemic. When nearly 20 yrs old the youths ask their father to provide them with exactly identical horses, lions and swords, and despite his poverty he manages to do so.
No. 13. FM and FW already have 2 sons [who are so alike that later in the story the hero's wife will mistake the twin for her husband]. After 9 months FM finds 2 swords in his garden, his mare has 1 [sic] foal, and his bitch has 2 lion cubs.
No. 14. Next day 4 [sic] swords appear in garden. FW gives birth to 3 sons, mare has 3 foals, bitch 3 lions.
No. 15. [AT 567 *The Magic Bird-Heart* (cf. Grimm no. 60 'The Two Brothers')]. A widowed hunter sees an unusual bird. His rich brother asks him to kill it and bring him its gizzard, but the hunter's own two sons eat it. Gold coins begin to appear under their pillows. The rich brother orders the hunter to kill the boys as thieves, but he only abandons them in the wilds. The boys are adopted by a giant and live with him until they are 20 years old, when the giant gives them each a musket and a sword, and orders them to leave his house forever, on pain of death.
No. 16. FW has 2 identical sons, bitch produces 2 lions, garden 2 swords.

D. *The Brothers Depart. The Life Index*
H = hero, eldest of 2 or 3 brothers. MB = second of 3 brothers. YB = youngest of 3 brothers. T = twin, younger of 2 brothers.
No. 1. The 2 brothers pluck roses from same rosebush: withering of rose will indicate that the other brother is in peril.
No. 2. The 3 brothers go their separate ways. No life index.
No. 3. The 2 brothers part at a crossroads, promising to help one another if in danger.
No. 4. The 3 brothers part at a crossroads, agreeing to meet at the same place in a year's time.
No. 5. H (eldest of 3 brothers) sets out. No life index.
No. 6. The 2 brothers set out. H makes knife cut in tree: if H is in danger the area around the incision will turn dry.
No. 7. The 2 brothers set out and engage in a joint adventure. No life index.
No. 8. The 2 brothers go in different directions at a crossroads. No life index [T later has a presentiment of H's predicament].

No. 9. H (eldest of triplets) sets out first and leaves a bottle of water. If it turns cloudy H will be in danger.
No. 10. The 2 brothers set out and part at crossroads. Life index: iron cross at crossroads will bleed when slashed with sword if H is in danger.
No. 11. H sets off with lion and horse. No life index [T happens to visit H's wife and realises what has happened to H].
No. 12. H and T go different ways at crossroads, leaving a dagger in a pit as a life-index: if blood drips from it, the other brother will be in danger. H takes the left fork of the road, T the right.
No. 13. The 2 brothers set out in different directions. No life index [T later arrives at the palace of the H's wife without any explanation].
No. 14. The H sets out. No life index. When H fails to return, MB sets out next day, etc.
No. 15. The 2 brothers set out and part company at a crossroads, where they stick their knives into opposite sides of an olive tree. If either knife rusts it will indicate that its owner is in danger.
No. 16. When the 2 brothers reach maturity both their parents die and they set out in search of their fortunes. They separate at a crossroads, leaving a glass of water on the cross. If the water turns cloudy, the other brother will be in danger or dead. H takes the left fork in the road, T the right.

E. *The Hero as Dragon-Slayer*
G = princess or maiden. D-S = Dragon-Slayer. K = King. I = impostor. HW = hero's wife.
No. 1. H kills a Beast-with-7-Heads which is about to devour a princess [G]. G becomes mute when the beast is slain. H wraps the beast's tongues in G's handkerchief. H leaves G at the city gates. K offers G in marriage to the D-S. A black man [I] produces the heads of the beast and claims G in marriage. Before marriage of I and G, 3 banquets. H sends his lion to steal I's plate, then to slap I's face. Mute G laughs both times. K summons H, who displays the beast's tongues. G recovers her power of speech. I executed. G becomes HW.
No. 2. No D-S episode. A merchant's daughter becomes HW.
No. 3. Cursory D-S episode: H kills Beast-with-7-Heads about to devour a maiden [G], who then becomes HW.
No. 4. No D-S episode. The 3 brothers come in turn to the same house and marry the same woman.
No. 5. No D-S episode or marriages. The 3 brothers come in turn upon the same old woman, cursed to wash clothes for the rest of her life because she once insisted on working on a Sunday.
No. 6. Cursory D-S episode. A wild beast. Princess. K gives daughter in marriage to D-S and she becomes HW.
No. 7. Land in mourning. A Beast-with-7-Heads devours a victim very week. The 2 brothers buy 7 skeins of cotton and make a 'hood' [cocoon?] in which they put the princess [G]. The brothers jointly kill the beast. A black man [I] presents the beast's heads to K and demands G in marriage. But the 2 brothers have already given the tongues to K so he knows I's claim is false. I is stood in front of a cannon and blown to bits. Neither brother marries G.
No. 8. Elder twin [H] goes to stay in a city where a serpent eats a maiden everyday. It is the turn of K's daughter [G]. H tells G to squeeze 3 oranges and, when he and the serpent fall back exhausted in the course of their fight, to give H the juice to drink and unleash H's dog to come to his aid. The serpent is killed. H puts the G behind him on horse and returns to the city and great celebrations. G becomes HW.
No. 9. No D-S episode or marriages.
No. 10. H comes to a city terrorized by a Beast-with-7-Heads. One of K's daughters [G] offered to beast. H accompanies G and puts G on his horse when he fights and kills

beast. H puts beast's tongues in his pocket, takes G back to palace, and when another man [I] appears with beast's heads, H displays tongues as D-S proof. G becomes HW.
No. 11. No D-S episode. Both H and T already married when story begins.
No. 12. No D-S episode. H meets miller's daughter [G] washing clothes in river. G becomes HW.
No. 13. Town in mourning. Beast-with-7-Heads devours a maiden every day. K's daughter [G] has been left on mountain. H tells crying G to lay her head in his lap and while she sleeps H tears 4 pieces from her dress. Then H sleeps with his head in G's lap. G is to wake H as soon as beast appears. [Gap in recording.] G returns to palace and K is delighted. A black man [I] collects the beast's heads and claims G in marriage. G denies I is D-S, but marriage is arranged. H has the beast's tongues and comes to palace and demands entrance. G identifies H as D-S. I to be thrown into sea. G becomes HW.
No. 14. No D-S episode or marriage.
No. 15. H spares the lives of a lion, hare and hound, and the grateful animals each provide him with one of their offspring as a helper. Town with all doors shut and bells tolling. Beast-with-7-Heads devours a woman every week. Turn of K's daughter [G]. H sleeps and is wakened by G when the beast arrives. H sets his animals upon the beast and kills it. H wraps beast's tongues in pieces taken from G's 7 dresses. H refuses to return with G to palace. A black man [I] takes beast's heads to K and is awarded the G in marriage. H sends lion and then hound to steal cakes from wedding feast without being seen, and then sends hare to display itself. G says owner of hare is true D-S, and follows hare to inn. H makes royal party come to his room. G and H reunited. I condemned to be dragged by the neck behind a galloping horse and his bones turned into a footstool for G's bed. G becomes HW.
No. 16. City in mourning. Beast-with-7-Heads threatens to kill everybody unless offered sacrifice. Turn of K's daughter [G]. G grooms H who sleeps until awakened by G's tears H appeals to his magic helpers (lion and sword)] and kills beast. H refuses to return with G to palace. K offers G in marriage to D-S. An on-looker [I] cuts off beast's heads and claims G, who denies he is D-S. On wedding day H appears and displays 7 tongues wrapped in 7 pieces torn from G's 7 skirts. I dismissed. G becomes HW.

F. *The Tower of No Return: The Hero and the Witch*
W = Witch, old woman, villain.
No. 1. On wedding night H asks wife about distant tower visible from their window. The 'torre da Má Hora' ('The Tower of the Evil Hour, whoever goes there doesn't return']. H binds his lion with a hair given him by old woman [W], who then challenges him to a fight and kills him.
No. 2. On wedding night H asks wife about distant tower visible from their window. The 'torre da má hora' ('The Tower of the Evil Hour, whoever goes there doesn't return [*or* come back]'). H binds his lion with a hair given him by old woman [W]. H fights W and when he calls on lion to help him, W calls on her hair to turn into an iron chain. W kills H. Same occurs with MB.
No. 3. H asks wife about distant tower visible from their window. The 'Torre de Babilónia' ('It [is] the Tower of Babylon, / Whoever goes there never comes back again'). H binds lion with hair given him by old woman [W] which turns into iron chain at her command. H falls into a dungeon.
No. 4. The '«torre da morte»' ('The 'Tower of Death', [. . .] whoever goes there doesn't return'). H binds his animals with hairs given him by old woman [W] which turn into iron chains at her command. Wrestling match. H beheaded by W who puts H's corpse in a cave. Same occurs with MB.
No. 5. H asks washerwoman about distant tower. The 'torre da má hora' ('The Tower of the Evil Hour; whoever goes there doesn't come back again'). An inn. H binds his lion with a hair given him by old woman [W, witch], which turns into a chain at W's

command. Wrestling match. H killed by W who buries him in a grave with her previous victims. Same occurs with MB.
No. 6. The 'Torre da Babilónia' ('The Tower of Babylon' – no refrain). H binds his animals with hairs given him by old woman [W]. H imprisoned by W.
No. 7. During their travels H and T ask men about tall church [tower, spire]. The 'igreja de Babilónia' ('The Spire of Babylon' – no refrain). H only pretends to tie up lion. H challenges old woman [W] to a sword fight. H kills W and leaves.
No. 8. H asks wife about distant castle visible from balcony. The 'Castelo da Madorna' ('It is the Castle of Somnolence, / Whoever goes there doesn't come back again!'). Although H gallops towards castle it takes him days to arrive. Very old woman [W] tells H to tie up his animals with 2 of her hairs. W feeds H well, then challenges him to a wrestling match. H laughs, but then finds himself losing. H calls on his animals to help him, but W's hairs turn into iron chains at her command. W imprisons H in cellar.
No. 9. No Tower. H meets an old woman [W] along the road. H ties up his animals with a hair and W challenges him to a fight. W turns into a giant and binds H. Same occurs with MB.
No. 10. The 'torre da Babilónia' ('It is the Tower of Babylon: Whoever goes there doesn't come back again!'). W says she's freezing cold and asks H to fight with her to warm her up. H ties animals with one of W's hairs. W beheads H.
No. 11. The 'torre de Nora' ('It is the Tower of the Well! Whoever goes there doesn't come back again!'). H ties his animals with one of W's hairs. W's sexual innuendos lead to a fight. W kills H with sword.
No. 12. The 'Torre da Madorna' ('The Tower of Somnolence: whoever goes there doesn't come back again'), an iron-gated castle. Extremely old woman [W] challenges H to game of cards. H always loses. W challenges H to sword fight. H calls on his animals to help him, but W's hairs become iron chains. H is beheaded by W, who puts his body in cellar.
No. 13. The 'luzinha da montanha', later described as 'da má hora' ('That is the beacon of the mountain [of the Evil Hour]. Whoever goes yonder never comes back again'). Old woman [W] secretly ties up H's animals with 2 of her hairs. W challenges H to sword fight and swaps swords. H's glass sword breaks immediately and when H calls on his animals to help him W orders her hairs to turn into iron chains. W kills H.
No. 14. 'Santa Apoloina' ('Saint Apollonia: whoever goes there doesn't come back'). Old woman [W] kills anyone who comes to see her. W offers H a cigarette but he doesn't want to smoke. W challenges H to fight and gets him to tie up his lion with one of her hairs, which turns into chain at her command. W kills H and puts his body in coffin. Same occurs with MB.
No. 15. The 'casinha da má hora' ('Oh, that is the House of the Evil Hour: whoever goes there doesn't come back'). A great chill descends when H arrives at the Tower and he goes to warm himself. W appears at balcony and complains of cold, but will not come down until H ties up his animals with one of her hairs. Then W challenges H to a fight, kills him and puts his body in a cellar.
No. 16. The 'torre da Babilónia' ('It is the Tower of Babylon: whoever goes there does not return'). Old woman [W] tells H that only those who win a wrestling match with her can enter the tower. H binds his lion with one of the W's hairs. W kills H.

G. *The Twin and the Hero's Wife: The Sword of Chastity*
No. 1. Rose withers and T goes to H's aid. HW mistakes T for H, but T puts scimitar between them in bed.
No. 2. MB and YB arrive in turn at house of HW, who mistakes them both for H, but each puts lance between themself and HW in bed.
No. 3. HW mistakes T for H (despite mark on T's face). No sword of chastity: 'his wife had broken the marital ties by mistake'.
No. 4. When H fails to appear at rendezvous, MB sets out in search of him, etc. All 3

brothers marry the same woman in turn. They each put a lance between themselves and their wife the night before they set out for the Tower.
No. 5. When H fails to return home after some time, MB sets out in search of him, then YB in search of both elder brothers. None of brothers marry.
No. 6. T sees tree dry around knife cut, and sets off directly for Tower as soon as he realizes where H has gone. No mention of visit to HW.
No. 7. Neither of brothers marry.
No. 8. No life index: T has a presentiment of H's predicament. HW mistakes T for H, but T puts sword between them in bed.
No. 9. When life-index water turns cloudy, the MB and YB set out in turn to rescue H. None of the brothers marry.
No. 10. HW mistakes T for H, but T puts wooden plank between them in bed.
No. 11. HW mistakes T for H, but T 'doesn't take advantage' of her.
No. 12. T sees life index knife dripping blood. HW, dressed in mourning, mistakes T for H, but. T puts sword between them in bed.
No. 13. HW mistakes T for H, but T puts sword between them in bed.
No. 14. No life index. YB sets out when H and MB fail to return and comes directly to Tower (H and MB are unmarried).
No. 15. T sees life-index knife rusting in olive tree and sets off to aid dead H. HW mistakes T for H, but T puts sword between them in bed.
No. 16. T sees life-index water has turned cloudy and sets off to aid H. HW mistakes T for her husband, but T puts sword between them in bed.

H. *The Twin Defeats the Witch and Revives the Hero*
No. 1. T only pretends to tie his lion with W's hair and it knocks W to ground. W begs for mercy and produces oil to revive dead H.
No. 2. YB only pretends to tie his lion with W's hair and it leaps on W, who begs for mercy. W provides healing oil for YB to revive H and MB, and the hundreds of other corpses in the cave under the tower.
No. 3. T only pretends to tie lion with W's hair and defeats W, who begs for mercy. W gives T a disenchanting phial, but he orders his lion to kill her. W's phial is used to break spell of all those found in the Tower.
No. 4. YB throws W's hair away and defeats W. He then enters Tower and finds 3 enchanted princesses. In underground chamber W will only consent to the resuscitation of H and MB, so YB kills her and uses her ointment to resuscitate all her previous victims.
No. 5. YB cuts the witch's hair with scissors and throws the pieces into the sea. YB revives H and MB with W's healing ointment and scent, then the 3 brothers bury W alive.
No. 6. T leaves lion untied. He wants to leave Tower with imprisoned H, but W won't let them go. T's lion kills W.
No. 7. T also climbs the Spire and meets another W whom he too challenges to a sword fight and defeats. W begs for mercy and offers T magic wand.
No. 8. T only pretends to tie up his animals, who help him to kill W. When W expires, a gale bursts open all doors and windows of Castle, freeing H and all other men and women imprisoned inside.
No. 9. YB only pretends to tie animals with W's hair and gives W a thrashing. H and MB were only imprisoned, not killed.
10.T breaks W's hair into pieces and throws them on ground. T defeats W and forces her to resuscitate H, but she puts H's head on back to front. H complains to T and they go back to W and make her put head back on properly.
No. 11. T snaps W's hair and throws it on ground. T threatens to kill W if she has killed H. She brings H out of grave and uses ointment to revive him. Fate of W unmentioned.
No. 12. T sees H's lion and horse chained up at Tower and blows away hairs she gives

him. T forces W to bring H's body up from cellar and restore him to life with her flask of healing liquid. Nevertheless the brothers cut W into little bits 'the way you cut a pineapple'.
No. 13. T sees W pull out 2 hairs and asks permission to smoke a cigarette, with which he burns them. T sees W swap swords and switches them back again. W's sword breaks. T spares W's life in return for revival of H, whom W anoints.
No. 14. YB also refuses witch's offer of cigarette. YB doesn't tie knot in W's hair, and dog comes to his aid. W begs for mercy and YB spares her life in exchange for the revival of H and MB and the return of their horses and dogs.
No. 15. T sees H's animals at Tower and doesn't tie W's hair. T defeats and kills W after discovering whereabouts of H, whom he revives with ointment.
No. 16. On way to Tower an old woman advises T not to tie up lion and gives T ointment to revive H. W is killed by T's lion.

J. *The Jealous Hero*
No. 1. When he learns T has stayed with HW, jealous H kills him. Discovering T's innocence, H carries T's body to W, but she refuses to give H the healing oil. H orders the lions to kill W and then revives T. The brothers then enter Tower and resuscitate all the corpses they find there.
No. 2. The 3 brothers return to HW, who is unable to distinguish H among them. H thanks his brothers for respecting his honour when they stayed with her.
No. 3. Jealous H kills T when he discovers T has slept with his wife. End of story.
No. 4. No jealousy between the 3 brothers as no mention is made of their previous (common) wife. They marry the 3 princesses found by YB in the Tower.
No. 5. No jealousy episode since neither H nor MB has married.
No. 6. No jealousy episode – no mention of T ever visiting HW.
No. 7. No jealousy episode since H and T act jointly and neither has married.
No. 8. Jealous H attempts to kill T, but animals intervene while T explains. H begs forgiveness.
No. 9. No jealousy episode since none of brothers ever married.
No. 10. No jealousy episode.
No. 11. Although T says that he did not 'take advantage of' HW, H beheads him. H then feels remorse at fratricide and goes back and resuscitates T with W's ointment.
No. 12. Jealous H beheads T. When H returns home HW asks him to explain sword of chastity and H realizes T's innocence. H goes back to revive T with W's ointment. In his anxiety H puts T's head on back to front, but when he offers to cut it off again and replace it properly T tells him to leave it as it is so that in future people will be able to tell them apart.
No. 13. Jealous H kills T with his sword. Later H feels remorse, and forces W to give him ointment to revive T.
No. 14. No jealousy episode since none of the 3 brothers ever married.
No. 15. Jealous H beheads T, but afterwards suffers remorse at killing his saviour and sends hare to get ointment. H initially puts T's head on back to front. Then he cuts it off again and puts it on the right way round.
No. 16. Jealous H kills T with his sword. When H returns home HW asks him why he used sword of chastity and H realizes T was innocent. H goes back and revives T with ointment.

K. *Resolution*
No. 1. H and T return to the palace of HW and live together from then on. The kingdom flourishes on the enormous wealth they found in the Tower.
No. 2. The 3 brothers divide the riches they find in the Tower between themselves. The 2 younger brothers return home to their father. [Oliveira notes a variant told by some

narrators in which the younger brothers go off on a further adventure in which YB uses W's oil to resuscitate a dismembered corpse which falls down the chimney of a haunted house – a popular fairytale in Portugal, AT 326 II e, Motif H1411.1.]
No. 3. Story ends when H murders T.
No. 4. The 3 brothers separate again to go and live with their respective princesses, having first given their father great riches.
No. 5. [Story ended when brothers buried W alive.]
No. 6. H and T return together to the palace of HW.
No. 7. At 3rd stroke of magic wand 7 men appear and T [? or W?] dances in their midst. Farcical deflation of story.
No. 8. The brothers return to the city and live together from then on, sending for their parents to join them.
No. 9. The 3 brothers return home.
No. 10. After getting W to put H's head back on right way round, the brothers part ways.
No. 11. [Story ended with H's resuscitation of murdered T.]
No. 12. T stays with his head back-to-front, H lives with HW.
No. 13. H and T are very happy and go their different ways.
No. 14. The 3 brothers return to their parents, where they live to this day. 'This happened long ago, but such people are immortal'.
No. 15. HW doesn't know which brother is H until told. T thereafter behaves as if he is HW's prodigal son.
No. 16. The brothers leave together and if they haven't died since, they're still alive.

APPENDIX 2

PORTUGUESE VERSIONS OF AT 516 *Faithful John*

The Portuguese versions of this tale that I consulted are listed below, followed by a synoptic comparison.

No. 1. 'O Príncipe Convertido em Pedra', in Oliveira n.d., II: 358–360. [No. 439 in the 1905 edition, São Lourenço de Almansil, Algarve.] (Used as the reference text in my analysis.)

No. 2. 'Pedro e Pedrito', in Oliveira n.d., I: 78–82. [No. 24 in the 1900 edition, Loulé, Algarve.] [Rösch RP6.]

No. 3. 'Quem Este Ouvir e Contar em Pedra Mármore Se Há-de Tornar', in Oliveira n.d., II: 25–28. [No. 224 in the 1905 edition, Castro Marim, Algarve.]

No. 4. 'Os Dois Pedrinhos', in Pedroso 1985 [1910]: 347–355, no. LXI. [Unspecified.] [Rösch RP7.]

No. 5. 'Pedro e o Príncipe', in Pedroso 1985 [1910]: 79–82, no. VI. [Lisbon.] English translation: 'Pedro and the Prince', in Pedroso 1882: 25–29, no. VI. [Rösch RP3.]

No. 6. 'O principe d'Argéles e o de Portugal', Dias 1913: 202–205, no. 8. (Ourique, Baixo Alentejo.) [Rösch RP4.]

No. 7. 'O Príncipe e o Alfaiate', in Barbosa 1914: 95–97, no. V. (Évora, Alto Alentejo. September 1912.) [Rösch RP5.]

No. 8. 'Pedro e Pedrito', in Coelho 1985 [1879]: 231–233, no. LI (Coimbra, Beira Litoral). [Rösch RP1.]

No. 9. 'A Bicha de Sete Cabeças', in Braga 1987 [1883], I: 106–108. [No. 12, Algarve]. [German translation: 'Der Drache mit den sieben Köpfen', in Meier & Woll 1975: 91–93, no. 45.] [Rösch RP2.]

No. 10. 'O Homem de Pedra', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 641–643, no. 323. (Informant: D. Elisiária. Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Palmela, Estremadura).

No. 11. 'O Homem de Pedra', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 643–644, no. 324. (Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Setúbal, Estremadura.)

No. 12. 'Dois Príncipes', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 644–645, no. 325. (Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Palmela, Estremadura.)

No. 13. '[A Princesa Flor do Mundo]', in Soromenho and Soromenho 1984, I: 602–607, no. 290. (Informant: Joaquim Viegas. Collector: M. Viegas Guerreiro. Várzea da Ribeira, Querença, Loulé, Algarve. April 1976.)

No. 14. '[The Faithful Friend]', in Parsons 1923, I: 125–128 (Creole text), 223–227 (English translation), no. 75 (Informant: Eduardo Vieira. Fogo, Cape Verde).

No. 15. (Variant), in Parsons 1923, I:. 128–129 (Creole text), 227–228 (English translation), no. 75a (Collector: G. T. Silva. Informant: Raimund Fonseca. Fogo, Cape Verde).

No. 16. ['The Hair Ladder: The Faithful Friend'], in Parsons 1923, I: 129–133 (Creole text), 228–232 (English translation), no. 76 (Informant: Miguel Gomes. Cape Verde).

No. 17. 'O Fiel Dom José', in Cascudo 1946: 25–30 (Informant: Luiza Freire. Ceará-Mirim, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil).

In the following synoptic comparison, 'P' = prince (person filling role of hero), 'F' = friend (person filling role of companion and helper), M = maiden (person filling role of fiancée / bride).

A. *Names, Status and Relationship of Protagonists*
No. 1. Prince [P], shoemaker's son [F]. Same age, great friends, can't bear to be separated.
No. 2. Prince [P, Pedrito], baker's son [F, Pedro]. Born same day, F raised in royal household as twin brother of P.
No. 3. Prince [P], an old and loyal servant [F], who loves P 'as if he was blood of his blood'.
No. 4. Prince [P, Pedro / Pedrinho], shoemaker's son [F, Pedro / Pedrinho]. Born exactly same time, F raised in royal household as twin brother of P.
No. 5. Prince [P], neighbour's son [F, Pedro]. Same age.
No. 6. Prince of Argéles (Algiers) [P], Prince of Portugal [F].
No. 7. Prince [P], tailor's son [F]. [Implied milk brothers.]
No. 8. Prince [P, Pedro], milk brother [F, Pedrito]. Treat each other as blood-brothers.
No. 9. Prince [P], shoemaker's son [F]. Inseparable friends.
No. 10. 'King' [later described more correctly as 'prince'] [P], page [F]. F always accompanies P, by whom he is highly esteemed.
No. 11. Prince [P], shoemaker's son [F]. F raised in royal household as if brother of P.
No. 12. Two princes, brothers, younger [P], elder [F].
No. 13. Prince [P], shoemaker's son [F]. Born exactly same time, F raised in royal household like twin brother of P.
No. 14. Prince [P], servant [F, Pedr']. Grow up together and love one another like brothers.
No. 15. Son [P, Prince] of prince, son [F, Good-Friend] of prince's cousin. Born same day. Raised together.
No. 16. Two friends, rich [P, Rich-Friend] and poor [F, Poor-Friend]. Inseparable.
No. 17. Prince [P], shoemaker's son [F, José]. Inseparable friends, living together in palace. F ennobled by King.

B. *Initial Situation and Departure*
No. 1. King disapproves of closeness of relationship between them, and forbids P to see F, so they decide to set out to travel the world.
No. 2. Rivalry of pseudo-twins. Queen resents F's superior intelligence and strength. F discovers his illegitimacy and devotes himself thereafter to study. At 18 asks permission to travel the world, and P asks to go too.
No. 3. P sees portrait of a princess [M] and falls in love. M refuses to marry P until she has seen him so P sets out to visit her accompanied only by F.
No. 4. Rivalry of pseudo-twins. King and Queen resent F's ascendancy over their own son. F discovers his illegitimacy. F leaves palace and P follows him, despite F's reluctance.
No. 5. P decides to travel the world, taking F as his only companion.
No. 6. 'Rivals' in reputation, P and F set out in search of one another, meet, become firm friends, and decide to travel together.

No. 7. King disapproves of P's friendship with socially inferior F. When F is banished, P goes with him.
No. 8. P is engaged to a foreign princess [M]. He leaves home to go and marry her.
No. 9. King disapproves of relationship and pays shoemaker to send his son away. P follows in search of F.
No. 10. P sets off on a journey accompanied by his page [F].
No. 11. Jealous courtiers continually plot against shoemaker's son. He decides to leave palace and P insists on accompanying him.
No. 12. The royal brothers set out for a walk.
No. 13. P sees portrait of a princess [M, Flor do Mundo] and falls in love.
No. 14. P dreams of maiden [M, Adraga Juliana] and becomes lovesick.
No. 15. P dreams of maiden [M, Juliana the Enchanted] and becomes lovesick.
No. 16. P goes hunting alone and hears of existence of girl [M, Adraga Juliana]. P decides to visit M to acquire her for himself and F.
No. 17. P's sister, jealous of friendship of P and F, intrigues against F, who is banished. P becomes melancholic, F is asked to return, P recovers. P goes hunting alone and discovers enchanted pumpkin labelled as destined for F.

C. *Journey and Enchantments of Hero and Heroine*
No. 1. P turned to stone while sleeping beside stone near well. M has already been turned to stone in same place.
No. 2. P and F part at crossroads, agreeing to meet in 1 year's time. F enrolls in college. P enters garden full of royal statues, is persuaded to smell a rose by an old woman and he and his horse turn to stone. M is one of statues in same garden.
No. 3. P and F come to court of M [princess in portrait]. P and M fall in love with (are enchanted by) one another.
No. 4. P and F part at crossroads, agreeing to meet at next city. P becomes enchanted in a palace, where he meets an enchanted princess [M].
No. 5. P goes to look for water and disappears. P enchanted as lemon in garden of an old palace. Princess [M] enchanted as orange.
No. 6. P and F hear of an enchanted princess [M] and set out to free her. While P sleeps under some pear trees F overhears 3 crows reveal how to disenchant M.
No. 7. During journey exhausted P rests beside stone while F seeks food. Old woman provides food, but when F returns P is dead.
No. 8. P sets out by sea to visit his fiancée, a foreign princess [M]. F prefers to travel by land.
No. 9. P finds F again and they come upon a maiden [M] tied to a tree. She won't explain reason, but asks them to rescue her.
No. 10. P asks old women in fields why there are no young women to be seen. They direct him to a very pretty maiden [M] nearby. P likes M very much and sets out with her for his palace.
No. 11. P and F part at crossroads, agreeing to meet in 1 year's time. P enters garden which he finds it impossible to leave.
No. 12. P goes ahead to find water. P becomes stuck with other suitors when kisses maiden [M] at fountain.
No. 13. P and F set off for foreign court to bring back M, who is kept in seclusion by her father.
No. 14. P and F set out in search of M. Part at crossroads. P finds M.
No. 15. P's grandmother provides him with magic bottle of oil and magic steamship. P and F travel across sea to M's country. P meets M.
No. 16. M confined in doorless house. P climbs M's hair to visit her ('Rapunzel').
No. 17. P takes F to pumpkin which only F can pick and open.

D. *Disenchantment of Hero and Heroine*

No. 1. F hears voice say P can be disenchanted by washing stone with flower petals dissolved in water. F also washes statue of M which he notices there.

No. 2. When P fails to appear at rendezvous F sets out in search of him. He recognises statue of P in garden and forces old woman to anoint it and all other statues in garden with healing oil. Revived M wants to marry F, but he insists she marries P, who is born to rule. F wants to pursue his studies.

No. 3. Marriage of P and M approved by her parents. Wedding.

No. 4. F searches for P and asks old woman's advice. After a series of ordeals F secures key to room in palace where P is enchanted.

No. 5. F comes to enchanted palace on advice of washerwomen-witches. Finding only lemons and oranges there F hurls them to the ground in anger, whereupon they turn into princes and princesses.

No. 6. P and F buy meat to feed lion guarding M, and free her.

No. 7. Old woman provides bottle of reviving scent and advises F how to gain access to an enchanted maiden [M] inside stone nearby. F revives P, then P and F free M.

No. 8. [Displaced to episode H.]

No. 9. P and F untie M from tree.

No. 10. None.

No. 11. F enters enchanted palace on advice of old man. When P and F want to leave, maiden [M, enchantress?] appears and accompanies them.

No. 12. F hears voice say that M and her suitors can be disenchanted by applying lemon juice to M's face. P and F both desire M, but F cedes his 'rights' in face of P's obvious passion for M.

No. 13. P gains entry to M's room hidden inside statue of golden lion. Later P bribes a local shoemaker to assist him and F, and elopes with M.

No. 14. No explicit enchantments.

No. 15. No enchantments.

No. 16. After P's 3rd visit, M flees with P and F to escape her mother's wrath.

No. 17. Pumpkin contains beautiful princess [M]. F declines M in favour of P.

E. *Threats Made against Hero and Heroine during Return Journey*

No. 1. While P and M asleep, F hears 'fairylike' voice foretell (a) M will eat poisoned oranges, (b) M will drink poisonous water, (c) stone bridge will collapse as crossing it, (d) peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

No. 2. F hears 'words' which foretell M will (a) eat poisoned oranges, (b) drink poisonous water, (c) fall from horse while crossing a stream, (d) face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

No. 3. While P and M sleep under a tree, F sees 3 doves alight on it and hears them foretell (a) M will drink juice of poisoned oranges, (b) arch of city gate will collapse on M as she passes under it, (c) peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

No. 4. Before they leave enchanted palace eagle comes in night and while P and M sleep F hears it foretell M will see and want to (a) ride a horse she will see, (b) eat figs, and (c) drink water – all of which actions will cause re-enchantment of M and P; in addition (d) walls will collapse on P as he enters city of M, and (e) P will be subject to peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

No. 5. F hears witches on the roof of shelter in which P and M sleeping foretell (a) M will fall from mule, (b) eat poisoned pears, (c) bridge will collapse as M is crossing it, (d) M and P will face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

No. 6. While P and M sleep under same pear trees, F overhears crows threaten M with (a) collapse of palace when M returns on wedding day; (b) peril on wedding night. No threat that disclosure will result in petrification of informer. F persuades couple to reenter palace by different door to that they left by.
No. 7. While P and M sleep F overhears swallows predict M will (a) eat poisonous pears; (b) drink poisonous water; (c) face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 8. As he travels alone by land F continually hears voices (initially described as 'coming from the trees') which foretell that M will (a) drink poisonous water, (b) cross a bridge which will collapse, (c) want to rest during journey and be bitten by a serpent and die. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F travels as quickly as can to warn P, despite fatal consequences to himself.
No. 9. While P and M sleep in a wood, F sees 3 doves alight on 3 crosses and hears them foretell (a) M will eat oranges and burst, (b) drink water and burst, (c) face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 10. While P and M sleep, F sees '4 tiny women of the woods' go by and hears them foretell (a) M will eat oranges and burst, (b) drink water and burst, and that (c) city walls will fall on P and kill him, and (d) P will face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 11. [Incomplete narrative: only variations from no. 10 (Vasconcellos no. 323) specified]. F hears voice near a hut foretell perils. (c) cardboard palace of P will collapse and kill him.
No. 12. The same voice that explained how to disenchant M and her suitors also foretold M would (a) get into a coach which would then burst into flames, (b) drink poisonous water, and then be persecuted by (c) a serpent [outside church after marriage of P and M] and (d) a dragon [on wedding night]. 'Only after these [ordeals] will she be freed from the evil spell cast on her at birth by a wicked fairy'. No threat that disclosure will result in petrification of informer. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 13. While P and M sleep, F hears 4 fairies ['4 birds of a feather'] foretell (a) M will want to eat pears from an orchard and (b) drink water from a fountain, that (c) arch of the city gates will fall on P and kill him, and (d) P and M will face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 14. While P and M sleep F overhears bird foretell M will (a) eat poisoned grapes; (b) eat poisoned apples; (c) drink poisoned water; and both P and M will (d) face peril on wedding night. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 15. While P sleeps F overhears birds threaten future dangers when couple (a) enter P's grandfather's house; (b) have child prematurely. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified.
No. 16. M's mother curses P that he will (a) drink poisonous water or (b) eat poisonous orange, or that (c) P's house will collapse and kill P and M, or that (d) on wedding night they will be killed by dragon. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. While P and M sleep F overhears birds reveal nature of mother's curse and penalty for disclosing it. F forestalls dangers as they arise.
No. 17. While P and M take siesta F overhears 3 doves threaten that M will (a) drink poisoned water, (b) eat poisoned soup, (c) be devoured by a 2-headed serpent at dawn. Whoever discloses these dangers will be petrified. F forestalls dangers as they arise.

F. *Wedding Bedchamber Scene*
No. 1. Beast with 7 heads comes though window. F kills it and attempts to remove drop of its blood from face of M, who wakes and screams.

No. 2. Serpent comes through window. F beheads it and attempts to lick drop of its blood from bare breast of M, who wakes and screams.
No. 3. M retires early alone. An hour later great commotion heard and F found in his underclothes in M's room. F says he has killed a serpent, whose body fell into garden, and tried to remove a drop of its blood from M's face, and that he cannot give further explanations.
No. 4. F hides under bed. Serpent comes through window and F cuts it in half. Serpent falls back into a cistern. Its blood splashes on face of M who wakes and imagines serpent's blood is her own blood and that F has attempted to kill her.
No. 5. F stands guard at window. Witch enters in form of ghost to behead P and M with sword. In fight with ghost F accidentally wounds M in face. M accuses F of trying to behead her.
No. 6. F sleeps in same room. Serpent comes in through window, F cuts it in two. Blood falls on faces of P and M. P wakes and thinks F has killed M.
No. 7. F asks to spend wedding night in same room as sole reward for previous services. Huge serpent enters which F kills with lance. F attempts to remove drop of blood from M's face with handkerchief. M wakes and accuses F of kissing her.
No. 8. No bedchamber episode.
No. 9. F lies at door to room. F kills beast with 7 heads. Attempts to clean its blood from face of M with a damp towel. M accuses F of kissing her and demands P avenge deed.
No. 10. F hides under bed. Serpent comes through window and F kills it. Its blood falls on faces of M and P, who wakes and calls for F to be arrested.
No. 11. [See episode D. No variations from no. 10 specified].
No. 12. F hides under bed. Dragon enters, its jaws gaping, to eat P and M. F kills it with sword.
No. 13. F stands guard at door with sword [Gap in recording of narrative at this point. The predicted threat was that a serpent would come to carry off P and M. Presumably F kills serpent and as a result there occurs] a great wind and all lights go out.
No. 14. F hides sword under bridal bed and when dragon appears at midnight cuts off its head. Drop of dragon's blood falls on M's face (variant: heart). F thinks that to use sword to remove the blood would be too dangerous, and licks it off with his tongue. M accuses F of treachery.
No. 15. F [? confusing account] kills tame dragon of P's grandfather. M gives birth after 7 months and P accuses F of being father of child.
No. 16. F rejects P's offer to share M as housekeeper and insists P and M marry. F guards them for 2 years against dragon's attack. M gives birth to son. When son is 1 year old, dragon enters through window. F beheads dragon, but a drop of its blood falls on M's face. F thinks that to use sword to remove the blood would be too dangerous, and licks it off with his tongue. P and M believe F is jealous and armed to kill them.
No. 17. F kills huge serpent as it comes through window. 3 drops of blood fall on M's face. F attempts to remove blood with fingertip. M wakes and accuses him of making advances.

G. *Petrification Episode*
No. 1. F condemned to death. Reveals truth on scaffold and is turned to stone. Statue of F is placed in palace garden.
No. 2. F condemned to death, P only person not to accuse him. Reveals truth on scaffold and is turned to stone.
No. 3. P and his father demand complete explanation which F immediately provides 'with great serenity'. Even when they become convinced of his honesty, F refuses to halt his account, because his feelings are hurt that they ever doubted his fidelity. He turns to stone.
No. 4. P defends F's innocence, but he is condemned to death. Before execution F is given permission to walk through garden with all nobles looking down from windows,

and as he is going to die anyway reveals truth. He turns to stone.
No. 5. P so angry that says F must be put to death. F asks him to invite entire court to a dinner at which he reveals truth, turning to stone. P puts statue under his bed.
No. 6. P beheads F, thinking F has killed M. Then P discovers dead serpent and realizes his mistake.
No. 7. F condemned by entire court. F reveals truth and is turned to stone, proving his innocence.
No. 8. As soon as F reaches palace of P's fiancée he reveals to P all the dangers which face M during return journey to P's palace. F is turned to stone as a result.
No. 9. P is ready to kill F on spot. F asks to give his explanation before entire court. He turns to stone.
No. 10. F condemned to death, asks to be allowed to explain actions. As F turns to stone P attempts halt his account, but F says he wants to die 'for the sake of fidelity and truth'.
No. 11. [See episode D. No variations from no. 10 specified.]
No. 12. P and M thank F for saving them and God for providing them with such a protector. No petrification episode.
No. 13. P threatens to kill F unless unless he explains his actions. He does so and is turned to stone. [End of story].
No. 14. F condemned to death. Reveals truth in confession to priest, and is turned to stone.
No. 15. F reveals birds' threats and turns to stone.
No. 16. In response to accusations, F discloses threats and turns to stone, demonstrating his innocence.
No. 17. P complains to King and F is condemned to death. Before being beheaded F is allowed to tell his story, convincing all of his innocence as he is turned to stone.

H. *Disenchantment of Friend by Child Sacrifice*
No. 1. While playing with his son in garden of the statue, P hears voice say that to resuscitate F he must cut his son's neck and wash the statue in his blood.
No. 2. Night before M gives birth P dreams that to resuscitate F must wash statue in blood of his newborn son. He does so.
No. 3. Royal family, greatly upset, promise large reward to whoever can bring F back to life. After several years P dreams that fairy comes and advises him to anoint statue with the blood of his 2 year old son. P is horrified at idea, but he has dream so often that eventually he runs to child's cradle and cuts its neck.
No. 4. A year later M gives birth to twin sons. P dreams that, by beheading his sons and washing statue in their blood, F will come back to life. P informs M, but while she regrets being cause of so much sorrow, she refuses to sacrifice the children. P has same dream so often that one day he sacrifices the twins.
No. 5. A year later M gives birth to a son. A witch challenges P to revive F by washing statue in his son's blood. P weighs up values of lives of F and son, experiments with a drop of his son's blood, and then sacrifices him.
No. 6. P goes back to pear trees and overhears crows reveal how to resuscitate F. P kills the 3 crows with one shot, beheads them, and crushes their heads to a powder, which he rubs into F's body.
No. 7. In time M gives birth to son. P dreams that if he washes stone in son's blood, F will be resuscitated. P beheads son.
No. 8. P consults fairies on how to revive F, cuts off one of his fingers and anoints statue with his own blood. But as F revives, P himself turns to stone. F consults a witch, kills a beast with 7 heads and pours its blood over statue of P [cf. episode D].
No. 9. While sons are playing in garden of the statue P hears voice say that to resuscitate F he must kill them and anoint F's statue with their blood. 'The prince hesitated, but full of confidence in the power of friendship, he beheaded his sons'.

No. 10. Doctors unable to revive F. One day disfigured stranger appears and says remedy is blood of P's newborn son. P immediately offers to sacrifice son, but stranger explains he is a grateful dead man sent by God to repay charity P had shown him in past. He touches stone with his hand and F revives.
No. 11. [Incomplete narrative: only variations from no. 10 specified.] 'He kills his son to bring the man back to life, and they cut his head in two, and he becomes well again'.
No. 12. No petrification of F.
No. 13. No resuscitation of F.
No. 14. P consults *saib'* who says only way to resuscitate F is to wash his statue in blood of P's newborn child. P cuts child's neck and throws corpse into room.
No. 15. P consults *saib'* who advises him to use fur of black cat, white plates, and blood of P's son to revive F.
No. 16. P and M place F's statue at street door. 12 years pass in sorrow. A bluejay advises P to behead his son and pour his blood over the statue. M agrees to sacrifice of child.
No. 17. P overhears 2 doves perched on F's statue in garden reveal means to resuscitate F. Just then P is told M has given birth to son. P seizes child from M, beheads it and soaks statue in child's blood.

J. *Conclusion*
No. 1. When P and resuscitated F return to palace they find sacrificed son alive playing on M's lap. Only a thin red thread round its neck reveals its sacrificial experience.
No. 2. Resuscitated F insists on seeing sacrificed child who begins to jump in his arms. Only a perfectly healed scar round its neck reveals its sacrificial experience.
No. 3. Resuscitated F runs to cradle of sacrificed child and finds it still alive. The wound is not deep and child recovers in a few days.
No. 4. P and resuscitated F go to children's room and find them alive and well, playing with F's scimitar, their hands covered in blood.
No. 5. P claims son died falling out of bed. M has child buried in garden. Next day, during great festivities to celebrate resuscitation of F, child is found playing with little stones in garden.
No. 6. No child sacrifice. Resuscitated F, P and M live happily together thereafter.
No. 7. P reveals child sacrifice to resuscitated F who immediately disinters child and revives him with same scent bottle he used earlier to revive P. Thereafter P, M and F live happily together.
No. 8. F's reward for reviving P is to marry P's sister.
No. 9. When P turns to place where sons were he sees them playing happily. Only a thin red thread round their necks reveals their sacrificial experience.
No. 10. P treats revived F (page) thereafter as his son.
No. 11. [See episode D. No variations from no. 10 specified.]
No. 12. P, M and F live happily ever after.
No. 13. [Truncated version: story ended with petrification of F.]
No. 14. Three days feast to celebrate resuscitation of F. When parents go to bury child, they find it alive and complaining of hunger from three days fasting. Thirty days feast to celebrate resuscitation of child and F.
No. 15. Six month celebration of F's resuscitation. When parents go to bury son, they find him alive and playing with flowers which bore the seeds which produced all the plants we have today.
No. 16. Three days feast to celebrate resuscitation of F. When parents go to bury son, they find him alive, dressed in priest's robes, ready to say mass.
No. 17. F insists on immediately reuniting head and body of P's son and child revives with only a red band round its neck. F returns child to M. Great celebrations and F marries P's sister.

APPENDIX 3

VERSIONS OF AT 533* *The Snake Helper*

In addition to the Portuguese reference text, 'A Cobrinha', in Oliveira, n.d., II: 101–104 [no. 268 in the 1905 edition, from Olhão, Algarve], the versions of this tale that I consulted were as follows:

Portugal:
No. 1. 'A Bicha', in Pires 1992, pp. 87–89, no. 40 (originally in *A Tradição*, V (1903), pp. 72–73).

Brazil:
No. 2. 'Dona Labismina', in Romero 1954 [1885], pp. 74–78, no. 9. [Classified in Cascudo's notes to Romero, pp. 78–79, as a variant of Type 510B.] [English translation in Philip 1989, pp. 70–73.]

Spain:
No. 3. 'La Rana y la Culebrina', in Llano Roza de Ampudia 1925, pp. 41–45, no. 8. [Classified in Boggs 1930 as Type 711*A.]

No. 4. 'La Niña y la Culebrina', in ibid., pp. 45–47, no. 9. [Classified in Boggs 1930 as Type 402.]

No. 5. 'La Culebrita', in Curiel Merchan 1944, pp. 340–342.

Catalonia:
No. 6. 'La Carbonera que va ésser Reina', in Amades 1974, pp. 98–100, no. 27. [Classified in Oriol 1990 as Type 533*.]

No. 7. 'El Cabellet Ros', in ibid., pp. 646–650, no. 191. [Classified in Oriol 1990 as Type 533*.]

Italy:
No. 8. 'Biancabella', in Straparola 1894, Vol. I, pp. 125–139 (Night 3, Tale 3). [Classified in Ashliman 1987 as Type 533*.]

No. 9. 'La Favola di Ohimé', in Toschi & Fabi (eds.) 1963, pp. 204–208. [Classified by Toschi & Fabi as Type 533*.]

No. 10. 'Le Tre Sorelle', in Comparetti 1875, pp. 103–106, no. 25. (An adaptation of this story appears in Calvino 1982, pp. 37–40, no. 12, 'The Snake'. [Classified in Ashliman 1987 as Type 533*].)

Chile:
No. 11. 'Delgadina and the Snake', in Pino-Saavedra 1967, pp. 72–77, no. 15. [Classified by Pino-Saavedra in his notes to the story, pp. 258–259, as a variant of Type 403.]

Dominican Republic:
No. 12. 'La Culebrita', in Andrade 1930, pp. 265–266, no. 213. [Classified in Hansen 1957 as Type 403**D, reclassified in Aarne–Thompson 1961 as Type 533*.]

Puerto Rico:
No. 13. 'Los Niños Huérfanos', in Mason and Espinosa 1925, pp. 597–598, no. 10d. [Classified in Hansen 1957 as Type 403**D with elements of Types 533 and 711*A, reclassified in Aarne–Thompson 1961 as Type 533*.]

No. 14. 'La Culebrita', in Ramírez de Arellano 1926, pp. 90–93, no. 71. [Classified in Hansen 1957 as Type 403**D, reclassified in Aarne–Thompson 1961 as Type 533*.]

Colorado and New Mexico:
No. 15. 'El Gusanito', in Rael 1957, Vol. I, pp. 300–302, no. 137. [Classified in Robe 1973 as Type 533*B.]

APPENDIX 4

PORTUGUESE VERSIONS OF AT 313
The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight

The Portuguese versions of this tale that I consulted are listed below, followed by a synoptic comparison.

No. 1. 'Branca Flor ou a Filha do Diabo', in Oliveira n.d., II: 213–w16. [No. 318 in the 1905 edition, from Salir, Algarve.] (Used as the reference text in my analysis.)

No. 2. 'O Rei Flor de Boninas', in Oliveira n.d., I: 31–35. [No. 2 in the 1900 edition, from Loulé, Algarve.]

No. 3. 'Branca Flor', in Oliveira n.d., I: 53–56. [No. 13 in the 1900 edition, from Loulé, Algarve.]

No. 4. 'O Palácio das Águas Tristes', in Oliveira n.d., I: 132–136. [No. 48 in the 1900 edition, from Loulé, Algarve.]

No. 5. 'A Lebre', in Oliveira n.d., II: 73–76. [No. 246 in the 1905 edition, from Pera, Algarve.]

No. 6. 'Um Grande Jogador', in Oliveira n.d., II: 248–251. [No. 336 in the 1905 edition, from Quelfes, Algarve.]

No. 7. 'Branca Flor', in Oliveira n.d., II: 273–276. [No. 360 in the 1905 edition, from Albufeira, Algarve.]

No. 8. 'Brancaflor', in Coelho 1985 [1879]: 113–120, no. XIV. (Coimbra, Beira Litoral.)

No. 9. 'Grisme e Guiomar', in Coelho 1936 [1882]: 93–96, no. XV. (Unspecified.)

No. 10. 'Brancaflor', in Dias 1970, X: 110–116. (Informant: Adelino A. Almeida. Collector: João Eloy Cardoso. Juncal do Campo, Beira Baixa. 1919.)

No. 11. 'A Filha da Bruxa', in Pedroso 1985 [1910]: 65–71, no. IV. [Lisbon.] [English translation: 'The Daughter of the Witch', in Pedroso 1882: 14–20, no. IV.]

No. 12.'A Filha do Rei Mouro', in Braga 1987 [1883], I: 94–96. [No. 6.] (Estremadura and Algarve.) [German translation 'Die Tochter des Maurenkönigs', in Meier & Woll 1975: 5–8, no. 1.]

No. 13. 'O Cavalinho das Sete Cores', in Braga 1987 [1883], I: 114–115. [No. 17.] (Lagoa, Algarve.)

No. 14. 'O Príncipe que foi correr sua Ventura', in Braga 1987 [1883], I: 135–138. [No. 32. Algarve?] (Unspecified.)

No. 15. 'D. Buenos', in Pires 1992: 111–113, no. 52. [Originally in *A Tradição*, 5 (1903), 173–174.] (Elvas, Alto Alentejo.)

No. 16. 'Brancaflor', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 325–338, no. 191. (Informant: Venâncio, an illiterate youth. Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Matela, Trás-os-Montes. 20 May 1896.)

No. 17. 'Brancaflor', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 387–392, no. 217. (S. Martinho de Moura, Resende, Beira Alta. 1903.)

No. 18. 'O Príncipe Mágico', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 393–396, no. 219. (Informant: D. Elisiária. Collector: Ana de Castro Osório. Palmela, Estremadura. October 1896.)

No. 19. 'O Príncipe que foi ter a Casa do Lobisomem', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 469–470, no. 268. (Moimenta da Beira, Beira Alta.)

No. 20. '[Brancaflor]', in Soromenho and Soromenho 1984, I: 440–456, no. 238. (Informant: Alfredo Sebastião Vitória, 70 years old, rural labourer. Cabeça Gorda, Beja, Baixo Alentejo.)

No. 21. '[Brancaflor]', in Soromenho and Soromenho 1984, I: 456–460, no. 239. (Informant: António Duarte, 43 years old, illiterate. Collectors: Michel Giacometti and Maria Emília Brederode Santos. Granja do Mourão, Évora, Alto Alentejo. September 1963.)

No. 22. 'A Filha Mais Nova', in Soromenho and Soromenho 1984, I: 463–468, no. 240. (Informant: Raul Ramos, 64 years of age, farmer and quarryman, illiterate. Collector: António Caetano Ramos. Santa Cruz das Flores, Horta, Azores. 1977.)

No. 23. 'Brancaflor', in Maia 1977 [1964]: 574–579, no. 6 (San Martin de Trevejo, Cáceres province, Spain, adjoining the Portuguese province of Beira Alta). [German translation 'Weißblümchen', in Meier & Woll 1975: 162–165, no. 84.]

No. 24. 'Brancaflor', in Vasconcellos 1963, I: 392–393, no. 218 (Foz Côa, Trás-os-Montes).

Brazil:

No. 25. 'Cova da Linda Flor', in Romero 1954 [1885]: 160–166 (Rio de Janeiro).

No. 26. 'O Homem Pequeno', in Romero 1954 [1885]: 87–92 (Sergipe).

In the following synopses H = Hero, G = Girl, V = Villain, VV = Villains, FV = Female Villain, VW = Villain's Wife.

A. *Initial Situation*

No. 1. Prince [H, João] gambles with stranger [V, Devil] and loses all his money. V invites H to visit his palace, giving misleading directions [follow wide road] intended to cause H's death.

No. 2. By customary law a prince [H, Flor de Boninas] is required to marry a girl [shoemaker's daughter] born on same day as himself.

No. 3. A poor youth [H, António] is approached by a dove which promises him happiness if he will go with it.

No. 4. Prince [H, unnamed], always previously successful, gambles with stranger [V, Devil] and loses everything he has, body and soul. V requires him to set out within 3 days for the Palace of Dismal Waters, but gives no directions as to its location.

No. 5. Prince [H, unnamed] obtains parents' permission to go hunting for first time.

No. 6. Son of rich parents [H, unnamed] gambles away his freedom to stranger [V, Devil – described as 'the wizard' in rest of tale] who requires him to appear within a week at the palace of Glória's father.

No. 7. Farmer agrees to give a stranger [V, Devil] the first living thing he meets when he returns home, in exchange for V's help in finding his lost oxen. When farmer returns home, his son [H, unnamed] comes to meet him.

No. 8. Servant [H, unnamed] wins crown of King [V] in gambling match, but it is immediately stolen by 2 doves. V promises marriage to his daughter [G, Brancaflor] if H returns crown.

No. 9. Princess [G, Guiomar] loves Count [H, Grisme], but her father the King [V] opposes their marriage.

No. 10. Man [H, unnamed, married], is so successful at gambling that he boasts his readiness to challenge the Devil. He then loses everything and gambles away his life to a stranger [V, Devil] who requires him to appear at Montes Cavalinhos [Ride-A-Cock-Horse Hills] on pain of death.
No. 11. Witch's daughter [G, Guiomar] loves Prince [H, unnamed], but her mother [FV, Witch] opposes their marriage. G tells H to come to FV's house disguised as poor man and ask for shelter.
No. 12. Youngest daughter [G, unnamed] of Moor King [V] secretly visits V's Chamberlain [H, unnamed] to be instructed in Christian religion.
No. 13. Youngest daughter [G, unnamed] of Moor King [V] wants to be instructed in Christian religion by V's noble prisoner [H, unnamed].
No. 14. Prince [H, unnamed] gambles with stranger [V, King], loses all his money and his freedom. H is imprisoned for 3 years in cellar, after which he is required to present himself at V's house to act as his servant for a further 3 years.
No. 15. Girl [G, Guiomar] disobeys father's warning and sets out to visit garden.
No. 16. (a) Introductory episode. Stranger [V, Devil] agrees to act as godfather for latest child of poor parents of a large family, if the girl [G, Guiomar – later known as Brancaflor because of her beauty] is handed over to him when 12 years old. When V comes to collect her, G is advised by Helper [Our Lady] but V carries her off to Hell on his horse ["Thought"]. (b) Prince [H, Dom Pedro], always previously successful in gambling, loses all his money and then his soul to V, who requires him to present himself at the city of Bijó-bijo, or the Palace Where You Go and Don't Come Back Again, without giving H any directions as to its location.
No. 17. Mother insists her only son [H, unnamed] learns all the 'arts', including gambling. H reluctantly gambles with Devil [V] and becomes his bond-servant for 3 years. He is given a year's grace to take leave of his family.
No. 18. Prince [V], who has magic powers in gambling, hears of another prince [H, unnamed] who is a successful gambler, and seeks him out. H gambles away his life to V and is required to report at Palace of Go-There-and-You-Don't-Come-Back-Again within a year and a day.
No. 19. Prince [H, João] is so sad he decides to set off on a journey.
No. 20. Stranger [V, Devil] agrees to act as godfather for latest child [H, António] of poor parents of large family, if H is sent to his palace [the Tower of Ill-Luck, "Whoever Goes There Does Not Return"] when 7 years old.
No. 21. Penniless man [H, unnamed] asks for work at a farm and is told to report next day.
No. 22. Unmarried youth [H, unnamed].
No. 23. Farmer's servant [H, unnamed].
No. 24. Handsome man [H, unnamed].
No. 25. King [V], always successful in gambling, invites another king [H, unnamed] to his palace. H gambles and loses. V invites H to visit his palace again, intending to kill him, as he does all his defeated opponents.
No. 26. Prince [H, Dom João] goes hunting with companions.

B. *Journey. Encounter with 'Swan Maidens'*
No. 1. On way to V's palace, as a joke H steals clothes of 2 [sic] girls bathing in river. Younger woman [G, Branca Flor] promises her help in exchange for return of clothes. G advises H to follow narrow road, and when he reaches V's palace not to be frightened when a serpent appears, nor to reveal to V that he knows G.
No. 2. H flees to escape forced marriage, taking best seeds from palace garden. H becomes gardener in palace of a foreign king [V]. Elder of V's 3 daughters become jealous because H offers best bouquets to youngest daughter [G, Guiomar].
No. 3. Dove carries H across sea. H feeds it meat during journey and, when meat runs

out, provides his own legs as food. When dove lands it turns into a beautiful girl [G, Branca Flor] who restores H's legs with her magic wand. G tells H to offer his services to her father [V, Devil].

No. 4. H visits various countries, then Houses of Sun, Moon, and Wind, and finally City of the Birds in search of V's palace. Limping stork carries H to palace. H feeds stork an ox and a barrel of wine during journey. Stork then tells H to steal clothes of V's 3 daughters as they bathe in water-tank. Eldest daughters offer riches in exchange for return of their clothes, youngest daughter [G, Branca Flor] promises salvation from death.

No. 5. H chases seductive-eyed hare and becomes separated from rest of hunting party. Hare leads H to mansion, then turns into an old woman [FV] who swears to take revenge on him.

No. 6. H searches for V's palace. Advice of old man. H steals clothes of V's good daughter [G, Glória] as she bathes in lake with her evil sister. G promises her help if H returns her clothes. H recites love verse and laughs. G says that as he has seen her naked she belongs to him alone. To prepare H for service with V, G instructs H to dismember her, throw pieces in lake, and reassemble them without spilling any blood. One drop spilt causes G to lose little finger of left hand. G warns H not to reveal he knows her and teaches him denial formula.

No. 7. H searches for V's palace. Advice of old woman. When 3 doves come to bathe in water-tank, H steals clothes of white dove, the V's saintly daughter [G, Branca Flor]. G promises to protect H if he returns her clothes. G warns H not to reveal he knows her and then disappears.

No. 8. H searches for crown stolen by doves. Journey to Houses of Rain, Wind, and Sun, and to Kingdom of the Birds, where H retrieves crown. King of the Birds carries H back to V's palace.

No. 9. – –.

No. 10. H asks eagle way to V's palace. Eagle carries H to House of Moon. H goes on to House of Sun who tells him the way.

No. 11. H comes to house of G's mother [FV] disguised as poor man. FV smells royal blood, but allows H to stay at G's request.

No. 12. – –.

No. 13. – –.

No. 14. On his way to V's palace, H gives all his food to a woman with a hungry baby. Advice of woman. H steals feather dress of 3rd dove which comes to bathe in water-tank. Dove [G, unnamed] gives H ring, necklace and feather in exchange for return of clothes and promises to come to his aid whenever he invokes her.

No. 15. G gets lost on way to garden and finds work as maid in house of 2 old women [FVV, witches].

No. 16. H asks ants, bees and birds way to V's palace. Eagle agrees to carry H there if fed an ox and a barrel of wine during journey. When supplies run out eagle leaves H on a beach. An old woman [Our Lady] appears and gives H advice. H steals clothes of last of 3 girls who come to bathe in sea. G promises to help H if he returns her clothes, and warns H not to reveal he knows her and not to touch any shiny and attractive objects (fire) when he reaches V's palace.

No. 17. H searches for V's palace. Advice of woman. H steals clothes of 3rd (white) dove [G, Brancaflor] bathing in pool at midnight and only returns them when dove promises 3 times to act as H's godmother. Dove tells H to agree to all tasks V will impose.

No. 18. H searches for V's palace. Journey to Houses of Sun, Moon and Wind. Wind carries H to a garden where he meets V's daughter [G, unnamed].

No. 19. H meets poor old man and exchanges clothes with him. H comes to house of a Werewolf [V] whose daughter [G, Guiomar] persuades her mother to let him stay. When V returns home he smells out hidden H.

No. 20. 7 years old H sets out in search of V's palace. Journey to Houses of Wind, Moon and Sun. Ostrich carries H on its back across river while H feeds it mutton stew and 10 litres of wine. When food runs out, H offers to cut a piece off his leg to feed ostrich, but it excuses him. H advised by Our Lady. H steals clothes of 3rd white dove [G, Branca Flor] as it bathes in lake. G promises H more things than there are in the whole world if H returns her clothes. G explains that although her father is the Devil, she and her mother [VW] are saintly women. G warns H to refuse V's offers of food and ask him for his godfather's blessing. H becomes bored living alone in room at palace and asks V for tasks.
No. 21. H reports for work at farm.
No. 22. H comes to farm of a rich man [V] who has 3 daughters. H courts youngest daughter [G, unnamed] and asks V if he can marry one of his daughters (unspecified). V imposes tasks.
No. 23. Farmer [V] has 2 daughters. H wants to marry daughter [G, Brancaflor], but V opposes marriage and imposes tasks.
No. 24. H loves daughter [G, Brancaflor] of Devil [V].
No. 25. H learns of V's intention to kill him and seeks advice at houses of 3 hermits. H follows written instructions dropped by a yellow-breasted bird. H steals clothes of youngest [G, Cova da Linda Flor] of V's 3 daughters as they bathe in river in form of ducks. H only returns clothes when G promises to deliver H from harm that awaits him. G tells H how to avoid tongue of flame which will erupt from inside a room at palace to kill him.
No. 26. H becomes separated from his hunting companions and comes to house of giants [V, VW, G]. H becomes V's servant. V's daughter [G, Guiamara] falls in love with H.

C. *Impossible Tasks*
No. 1. (a) Take 5 goats out to graze; (b) take 2 horses out to water; (c) plant a crag with wheat and produce bread from it same day.
No. 2. Jealous sisters of G claim H has boasted he can (a) produce a better and more plentifully watered garden than V has within a week; (b) construct a high tower, climb it with a glass of water on his forehead and descend with the water turned into blood, all without spilling a drop of liquid, within a fortnight; (c) build a bridge across a river and cross it on horseback: V says he will inspect it when he returns from war.
No. 3. (a) Level a mountain, plant a vineyard and produce 2 bottles of wine from it in same day; (b) fill in a lake, sow wheat, harvest, mill and produce bread from it same day; (c) cause waves of sea to break against door of V's house before dawn next day.
No. 4. (a) Level a mountain and turn it into farmland in one day; (b) next day surround the land with a wall, create a vineyard inside it and produce wine from it; (c) bring a bottle of holy water from the bottom of the sea and cause the waves to break against the walls of the V's palace; (d) tame a recalcitrant horse.
No. 5. Bring back (a) a pitcher full of water from a barren crag; (b) a basket full of eggs from the same place; (c) a cleaver from house of FV's sister.
No. 6. (a) Drive a mulecart to a mountain 7 leagues away and back again within an hour; (b) sow a plain with wheat and produce bread from it by evening; (c) choose a bride among V's 2 daughters and his maids, at night and with eyes closed. (V plots with wicked daughter and maids that whoever marries H will kill him on wedding night).
No. 7. (a) Plant a vineyard and bring back a bunch of grapes from it by nightfall; (b) bring back guitar V lost 500 years ago from bottom of sea; (c) tame a horse; (d) choose a bride among V's daughters merely by the sight of one of their hands.
No. 8. V imposes further tasks on H. (a) Sow wheat and produce bread from it by evening; (b) move giant rocks from distance up to V's palace; (c) bring the sea up to the front of the palace.

No. 9. No tasks.
No. 10. (a) Plant a vine shoot and bring back a bottle of wine produced from it in same day; (b) bring back a ring dropped by V in sea; (c) choose a bride among V's 3 daughters merely by the sight of one of their hands.
No. 11. (a) Fill a pot with bird droppings in one day; (b) plant vines and bring back grapes from them in same day.
No. 12. No tasks.
No. 13. No tasks.
No. 14. (a) Sow wheat, corn and barley and bring back 3 sorts of bread next day; (b) bring back ring lost at bottom of sea by V's eldest daughter; (c) tame a horse.
No. 15. (a) Fill basket with feathers from living wild birds; (b) polish a spade until it shines like gold.
No. 16. (a) Plant a vine shoot and bring back wine from its grapes same day; (b) plant 3 grains of wheat and bring back bread from them same day; (c) bring back ring lost by greatgrandfather of H's greatgrandfather from bottom of sea; (d) tame a mule; (e) select bride among V's daughters merely from sight of one finger of their left hands.
No. 17. VW, half as cunning again as V, tells him to kill H by imposing impossible tasks. (a) Cultivate land, plant a vine shoot and bring back 7 barrels of wine from it by midday. (b) bring 7 waggon-loads of firewood from pine forest, each stick no longer than the span of a hand or thicker than a finger; (c) exercise a horse; (d) bring back a ring lost by V's greatgrandfather from bottom of sea; (e) select a bride among V's 2 daughters merely from sight of one of their hands.
No. 18. (a) Turn a great stone gorge into a sea harbour; (b) sow wheat in a pinewood and bring back bread made from it; (c) bring back V's grandmother, who died 30 years ago, from bottom of sea; (d) select, blindfolded, a bride from among V's daughters.
No. 19. (a) Deliver a letter (instructing recipient to kill bearer) to another werewolf; (b) polish 2 rusty old knives until they shine like silver within 2 days.
No. 20. (a) Sow wheat on mountain and bring back bread from it same day; (b) remove stones from the mountain, plant vine shoot and bring back wine from it same day; (c) bring back gold belt, dropped by VW on her way to H's christening, from bottom of sea; (d) tame a horse; (e) select bride among V's daughters merely from sight of an index finger.
No. 21. (a) Remove stones from grain and sort it into wheat, barley and oats; (b) father sons upon a roomful of fishwives and turn the boys into soldiers in the course of one day; (c) plant a vineyard and bring back grapes and wine same day.
No. 22. (a) Sow wheat on barren land and harvest and mill it same day; (b) build a palace opposite V's palace in a day; (c) select a bride from among V's daughters merely from sight of their hands.
No. 23. (a) Sow wheat and bring back bread same day; (b) plant vineyard and bring back wine same day; (c) bring back ring from bottom of sea (lost by V when returning from America); (d) select a bride among V's 2 daughters merely from sight of their hands.
No. 24. No tasks.
No. 25. (a) Move V's palace to middle of sea; (b) bring back ring lost by VW in sea.
No. 26. V accuses H of boasting that he can (a) demolish wall surrounding his estate and build a palace from the stones in one night. (b) drain away water surrounding an island of wild beasts and turn it into a garden full of all kinds of flowers, all in one night.

D. *Impossible Tasks Fulfilled*
No. 1. On G's advice: (a) H keeps the 5 goats [V, VW, V's 3 daughters] in the yard and beats them all soundly (except for the smallest, which is G); (b) H keeps 2 horses in stable and beats them soundly. (c) G uses her magic wand to produce bread while H sleeps with head in her lap.
No. 2. (a) G tells H to mark out boundaries of garden and then uses her magic wand to

turn the land into a garden; (b) G tells H to mark out foundations of tower and then uses her magic wand to produce a fog to conceal actual events from sisters' view until time H is descending tower with glass of blood on his forehead; (c) G warns H that her sisters will not be satisfied until he is dead and that instead of fulfilling 3rd task they should use V's temporary absence at war to flee.

No. 3. (a) G tells H to rest and sleep; (b) G grooms H, inducing sleep during which G's magic wand does all work instantly; (c) G gives H 3 bottles and tells him to fill them with sea-water and throw the contents against door of V's palace.

No. 4. (a) G tells H to sleep with head in her lap and then uses her magic wand to carry out task; (b) "The same scene"; (c) G brings back bottle of holy water from bottom of sea. G then instructs H to kill and dismember her, throw the pieces of her body in the sea, and then immediately run away back to palace. As soon as her body is thrown into the sea there is a great tempest which sends waves breaking against walls of V's palace; (d) G advises H to beat horse soundly on head [V] and flanks [VW] but to spare belly [G].

No. 5. (a) H falls asleep crying and wakes to find maiden [G, Maria] beside him and pitcher full of water. G teaches H denial formula to use when her mother [FV] questions him; (b) G tells H to sleep with head in her lap; (c) G advises H to provide guard dogs and oxen with appropriate foods, to cultivate neglected fig tree, and to take cleaver without asking (FV's sister is herself a murderous witch).

No. 6. (a) G tells H to follow old road, not new, to whip left mule mercilessly [wicked sister] until it collapses, and to drive cart [V] over stones until it falls to pieces; (b) G tells H to sleep with head in her lap. When he wakes H finds basket of bread beside him; (c) H able to distinguish G by her missing little finger.

No. 7. (a) G tells H to rest head in her lap; (b) G tells H to cut her into pieces into a basin without spilling any blood and throw pieces into sea. H spills a drop of blood. After 3 hours H calls 3 times for G and she appears in basin, playing guitar; (c) G tells H to seat himself firmly in saddle [G] and beat horse's head [V] and flanks [VW] severely. G's wicked sisters are stirrups, so H jumps straight into saddle; (d) H able to distinguish G by scar on her finger caused by spilt drop of blood [see 7(b)].

No. 8. (a) G tells H not to worry. Wheat is sown magically, then G and H harvest and process grain and make bread. G teaches H denial formula to use when V questions him; (b) G tells H not to worry. When V wakes next morning palace is encircled by stones; (c) G gives H a bottle of her blood to sprinkle round exterior of palace during night, warning him not to spill any on himself. A drop falls on H's finger and it falls off. V's palace becomes an island surrounded by sea.

No. 9. No tasks.

No. 10. (a) H meets V's daughter [G, Branca Flor] who tells H not to worry and sleep with head in her lap. He finds bottle of wine beside him when he wakes. G teaches H denial formula to use when V questions him; (b) G tells H to mince her body into a basin without spilling any blood and throw contents into sea. She returns with ring; (c) H able to distinguish G by missing tip of her little finger caused by spilt drop of blood [see 10(b)].

No. 11. (a) G tells H not to worry and to leave pot at foot of a wall. G warns H to deny having been helped by her. (B) G tells H not to worry and to plant vines – they will bear grapes same day.

No. 12. No tasks.

No. 13. No tasks.

No. 14. H summons dove and it (a) carries out task; (b) tells H to behead it without spilling any blood and throw its body into sea. Dove flies back with ring in its beak; (c) explains: H must beat horse [V] soundly. Saddle of horse is VW, stirrups G's sisters, G is reins.

No. 15. (a) G bewails her misfortune. Man [H, Dom Buenos] appears, and blows horn to summon his servants who carry out task. H teaches G denial formula to use when FVV

question her. (b) H's servants carry out task.
No. 16. H invokes G's aid. (a) and (b) Men come and do work while H sleeps with head in G's lap. H denies he was helped by G; (c) G tells H to cut her into pieces in a basin, pour contents into a carboy and throw it into the sea, and then wait on beach playing guitar continuously until G reappears. H falls asleep and only 3rd time carboy surfaces do waves it causes succeed in waking him. H decants carboy back into basin and G is resurrected, minus tip of little finger of left hand lost when H spilt a drop of blood. G fixes tip with a bit of wax; (d) G explains mule is VW, saddle is V, stirrups and headgear V's daughters. H must beat mule and harnesses as hard as he can – except for bridle which is G; (e) H can distinguish G by her wax-tipped finger.
No. 17. (a) G takes lunch to H who falls asleep when G grooms him. When H wakes wine is ready; (b) H cuts down trees all morning. G then brings him lunch, etc.; (c) G explains horse is V, saddle VW, sister left stirrup, G right stirrup by which H should mount horse and then beat it with nail-studded cudgel; (d) G tells H not to sleep at night, to wait for white cloud to appear which will carry him to seashore. G appears by sea with knife and basin and tells H to cut her into 7 pieces without spilling any blood and throw them into sea, then to wait without sleeping. H spills drop of blood and G loses tip of little finger. G brings back ring and teaches H denial formula to use when V questions him.
No. 18. (a) G gives H pack of cards to shuffle until he falls asleep. G teaches H denial formula to use when V questions him; (b) G tells H to fell marked pinetree and bread will appear; (c) G tells H to kill her and cut her body up into pieces and throw it into sea. H omits piece of her little finger. G brings back V's dead grandmother; (d) G tells H to feel hands of V's daughters. H can distinguish G by missing tip of her little finger.
No. 19. (a) G alters letter to say H has been sent to be 2nd werewolf's slave. He sends H back to V with his thanks and a present; (b) G tells V that H is busy polishing knives while she prepares their elopement.
No. 20. (a) 7 year old H can't even shoulder spade. G takes H good lunch, grooms him and he falls asleep with head in her lap. G immediately tells him to wake up, the grain is already milled, G helps H bake bread; (b) H can't even shoulder pickaxe. G takes H good lunch, etc.; (c) G sends H to get gold tub and basin, then tells H to cut her throat, catch blood in basin, quarter her body, put it in tub and throw it into sea. H spills drop of blood and it leaves dimple on index finger of G's right hand. H falls asleep and only responds when G repeats 3rd call. H gives G her blood to drink and she becomes as she was; (d) G explains horse is V, saddle is VW, G is bridle, stirrups her sisters. G tells H to beat horse severely, but not the saddlery; (e) H can distinguish G by mark on her finger. After tasks (a), (b) and (c) H uses a denial formula when V questions him.
No. 21. While H wondering how to accomplish tasks, V's daughter [G, Brancaflor] appears. (a), (b) and (c) G tells H to lay his head in her lap and while he sleeps task is accomplished. After (a) and (b) H denies he has been helped by G.
No. 22. (a) and (b) G tells H to sleep. Next morning task has been accomplished; (c) G tells H he can distinguish her by fact tip of her little finger is missing.
No. 23. (a) and (b) G gives H magic wand which accomplishes task immediately; (c) G tells H to cut her into pieces, put them in a bottle and throw it into the sea, without spilling any blood. G returns with ring, but drop of blood spilt by H leaves mark on G's little finger which (d) enables H to distinguish her hand from that of her sister.
No. 24. No tasks.
No. 25. (a) G tells H to sleep and while he does so tasks will be accomplished. (b) G gives H a wand to beat on flagstone in sea: when a fish with a yellow crop emerges, it will have ring in its stomach.
No. 26. (a), (b) G tells H not to worry, she will fulfil tasks during night.

E. *Preparations for Flight*

"Thought", "Wind", "Time", "Water" = Horses that respectively travel as fast as thought, wind, time or water.

No. 1. G tells H they must flee as V has decided to kill them. G leaves wax figure in bed. H saddles wrong (fat) horse.

No. 2. G and H flee on one horse, and carry off all riches they can on another.

No. 3. G advises flight because V intends to kill H. In darkness H chooses wrong horse ("Wind") by mistake.

No. 4. G advises flight while V and VW are recovering from beatings received in horse-taming episode. H disobeys instruction to select most broken-down horse ("Thought") in stables and saddles "Wind". G spits 3 times on table in her room to provide answering voice to V's queries.

No. 5. G tells H that FV intends to kill him next day, but if H will take her with him G will make preparations for their flight. H selects correct horse (it travels a league at every stride, twice as fast as the other).

No. 6. G tells H he must flee and sends him to get thinnest horse ("Thought") and bring it to palace gate where she will be waiting. [Truncated narrative: rest of story said to be like Oliveira no. 9 – an erroneous reference, presumably Oliveira no. 13 is meant (our no. 3)].

No. 7. G warns H that V intends to kill them while they sleep. G spits on pillow to provide answering voice to V's queries. G tells H to saddle thinnest horse in stables ("Thought"), but H chooses fat horse ("Wind").

No. 8. V agrees to G's marriage to H, but suspends naked sword by a hair above their wedding bed. G tells H they must flee at stroke of midnight – the time when magic powers of VW cease until dawn, and the time when V will come to kill them. H saddles wrong horses (plural, "Wind") by mistake.

No. 9. G consults her godmother who is a witch. She advises flight on horses (plural, "Thought") and provides G with magic obstacles. In darkness G and H select wrong horses. Godmother sees their mistake and decides to follow and help them.

No. 10. H and G marry. V tells VW he intends to kill them that night. G puts 2 wineskins in their bed and sends H to prepare thin horse ("Thought") but H disobeys and brings well-fed horse ("Wind").

No. 11. G and H decide to flee while FV is absent. G spits 3 times on threshold as they leave house to provide answering voice to FV's queries.

No. 12. G's visits to H's room witnessed by her elder sister who threatens to inform V. So H says they must flee. G tells H to prepare 2 horses and equips herself with magic obstacles.

No. 13. G and H decide to elope. G tells H to prepare horse of 7 colours ("Thought").

No. 14. G tells H they should elope while rest of family are exhausted by beatings sustained in horse-taming episode. G tells H to saddle thinnest horse ("Thought"), but he chooses well-fed horse ("Wind").

No. 15. H warns G to stay awake that night as FVV intend to burn her to death while she sleeps. Instead it is the FVV who are burned to death.

No. 16. H marries G but V intends to kill them as soon as they fall asleep. G tells H to prepare thin and ugly horse ("Thought"), but instead H prepares "Wind" (3rd horse in stable: "Time"). G spits on her pillow to provide answering voice to V's queries.

No. 17. H marries G but V intends to kill them as soon as they fall asleep. G leaves pitchers of spittle to provide answering voice to V's queries. G tells H to prepare ugly horse ("Thought") for their flight but he prepares more attractive horse ("Wind").

No. 18. H marries G and lives in V's palace. When H wants to take G to his own country, V won't allow him so they decide to elope. G leaves a hair under her pillow to provide answering voice to V's queries.

No. 19. G spits on ground and uses magic wand to enchant spittle to reply in her voice to V's queries.

No. 20. H marries G. She spits 3 times at door to provide answering voice to V's queries. G tells H to prepare skinny horse ("Thought"). H chooses other horse ("Wind"). G leaves boxes of plates in bed.
No. 21. G realizes V intends to kill her and H. G puts doll in bed and spits on ground to provide voice to answer V's queries. No mention of horse.
No. 22. V asks H which palace H wants to live in with G after marriage. On G's instructions H chooses to live in V's old palace rather than new one constructed as impossible task (b).
No. 23. V is forced to allow H and G to marry, but intends to kill them as soon as they fall asleep. G leaves air-filled skin in bed and spits on ground to provide voice to answer V's queries. G sends H to saddle horse for their flight and H selects a slow horse.
No. 24. G and H decide to elope. G spits on table to provide voice to answer V's queries. H chooses wrong horse ("Wind").
No. 25. V realizes H is being aided by G and resolves to kill them both. G guesses V's intentions and tells H to saddle horse ["Thought"]. H saddles "Wind" [Third horse in stables: "Water"].
No. 26. V decides to kill G and H, but G has powers of foresight and invites H to flee with her. G leaves 2 banana plants as dummies in their beds. G and H ride off on 'best' horse, which travels 100 leagues at every stride.

F. *Pursuit, Magic Obstacles and Transformations*
Unless otherwise stated, the nature of the transformations is listed in the order: Horse(s) / Girl / Hero.
No. 1. When G fails to answer his queries, V goes to her room and stabs dummy. Next morning he discovers flight of H and G, consults his 'world map' to locate their position and within moments has caught up with them on thin horse. G blows through tubes to set up obstacles: (a) fog; (b) wide river. Both times V returns home to consult his map to locate new position of fugitives. Transformations of fugitives: (a) wall / garden / gardener; V returns home, VW explains deception and derides V; (b) chapel / holy image / sexton. VW tells V no need to continue pursuit as she predicts H will be embraced from behind by his mother and forget G.
No. 2. V informed of flight by G's jealous sisters. Transformations: (a) orchard / deaf old woman / basket of oranges; (b) church / image of saint / priest. V asks saint if he should continue pursuit and she signals 'No'.
No. 3. V pursues. Obstacles: (a) sand → mountain; (b) smoke → fog; (c) water → sea. V unable to cross sea returns home. VW sets out in pursuit. Transformations: (a) chapel / holy image / 'deaf' sexton; (b) 'deaf' gardener / garden / well. VW abandons pursuit.
No. 4. When spittle dries and fails to answer, V discovers flight and pursues on thin horse ("Thought"). Transformations: (a) well / garden / 'deaf' gardener; (b) chapel / holy image / 'deaf' monk; (c) river-bank / water / boat. V abandons pursuit. VW sets out in pursuit. (d) water / eel / water-tank. VW jumps into tank and tries to catch eel. Failing to do so VW promises forgiveness if G returns home. When G signals 'No', VW curses her.
No. 5. FV pursues and catches fugitives [despite riding a horse which only travels half as fast as theirs: unexplained]. Obstacles: (a) [salt] → cliff of salt; (b) smoke → fog; (c) water → wide river in which (Transformation (a)) G becomes eel. FV attempts to persuade G to come out of water but G signals 'No'. FV abandons pursuit.
No. 6. [Truncated account: said to be same as no. 3].
No. 7. When spittle dries and fails to answer V goes to kill H and G and discovers their flight. VW orders V to pursue on thinnest horse. Transformations [G / H]: (a) vegetable garden / gardener; (b) river / fish. V attempts to catch fish but fails. After both (a) and (b) V returns home but VW sends him back in pursuit; (c) hermitage / hermit. When hermit says priest is at altar and has consecrated the host V and his horse explode.

No. 8. V discovers flight of H and G at midnight. VW advises V to wait until dawn when she will regain her magic powers before he sets out in pursuit. Transformations [Horses / Harnesses / G / H]: (a) earth / garden / lettuce / gardener; (b) hermitage / altar / holy image / sexton; (c) sea / boat / mullet fish / boatman. V abandons pursuit and returns home. VW sets out in pursuit and by means of her magic powers undoes transformation (c) and curses G and H to forget everything which has happened between them.

No. 9. V discovers flight of G and H and pursues on horse ("Thought"). Godmother instructs fugitives to lay down obstacles: (a) ashes → fog; (b) salt → a great sea; (c) pins → lances and swords. V abandons pursuit but curses G and H to forget each other.

No. 10. V stabs wineskins and thinks wine is blood of G and H. VW makes him check, and when he discovers flight VW tells him to pursue on horse ("Thought"). G gives H 2 tubes and tells him to lay down obstacles: (a) needles → boulders and pine-trees; (b) ashes → fog. Both times V returns home, but VW insists he resume pursuit. Transformation: cha-pel / holy image / sexton. V abandons pursuit finally.

No. 11. Spittle betrays G's flight to FV who sends her husband in pursuit. Transformations [G / H]: (a) old man with sack of nuts / highway; (b) hermit / hermitage. FV's husband returns home and FV sets out herself in pursuit; (c) eel / river. When G refuses to leave water and return home, FV curses her to be forgotten as soon as H is kissed by anyone at his home.

No. 12. V learns of flight and sends soldiers in pursuit of H and G. Obstacles: (a) ashes fog; salt → sea; (c) charcoal → night, thunder and lightning.

No. 13. No pursuit.

No. 14. V discovers flight when G fails to reply to his calls and pursues on horse ("Thought"). Transformations: (a) church / holy image / hermit; (b) earth / rosebush / gardener. Both times V returns home and VW (queen, a 'witch') explains deception to him. VW sets out with V to continue pursuit; (c) well / eel / tortoise. When G refuses to leave water and return home,VW curses tortoise to forget G.

No. 15. No pursuit (villains dead).

No. 16. When spittle dries and fails to answer V beats bed of G abnd H with iron club and believes he has killed them. Next morning VW discovers their flight on "Wind" and tells V to pursue on "Thought". G lays obstacles: (a) pin cushion → pine forest; (b) cup of water → sea. Transformations: (a) vegetable garden / cabbages / gardener; (b) garden / flowers / gardener; (c) church / bells / sexton. V returns home and rejects all VW's demands to resume pursuit.

No. 17. When spittle dries V goes to kill G and H and discovers their flight. V tells VW to prepare "Thought" and he pursues. Transformations: (a) vegetable garden / water-tank / gardener; (b) chapel / altar / hermit. V abandons pursuit. VW sets out in pursuit. Obstacles: (a) pins → pine wood; (b) ashes → fog. VW curses fugitives.

No. 18. G spends so long 'getting dressed' that V investigates and discovers flight. V sends 2 giants in pursuit. Transformations [G / H]: (a) herd of goats / goatherd. V sends 2 even stronger giants in pursuit; (b) chapel / sexton. V himself sets out in pursuit; (c) pool / mullet fish. V turns himself into a fish but is bitten by mullet (H). V curses H.

No. 19. No pursuit.

No. 20. When spittle dries V beats dummies with iron club and mistakes sound of plates breaking as bones breaking. VW reveals his mistake and advises pursuit "Thought". G uses magic wand to produce transformations: (a) pinewood / fog / (H is stationed on far side of wood); (b) bell / church / sexton. V abandons pursuit but VW explains deceptions and sets out in pursuit with V. (c) – / river / – (H and horse are stationed on other side of river). VW turns into a watersnake and crosses river. Obstacles: (a) pins great cliff; needles → bramble thicket. VW curses G.

No. 21. When spittle dries V enters room, stabs dummy and discovers flight. VW tells V to pursue fugitives. V pursues on thin horse. Transformations of fugitives: (a) holy ima-

ges / church / watchman; (b) – / thicket / –; (c) river / boat / fisherman; (d) flock of sheep / – / shepherd. Obstacle: H and G climb high mountain. V abandons pursuit.
No. 22. On wedding night G shifts new palace (containing V and family) far away into middle of river. H and G only visit V to display grandchildren to him, and later confine V in a 'castle' (old people's home).
No. 23. When spittle dries V pierces air-bag and discovers flight. VW tells V to pursue on another, faster horse. Transformations of fugitives: (a) vegetable garden / lettuce / gardener; (b) chapel / image of Virgin / hermit; (c) river / water / (H placed on far side of river). V abandons pursuit. End of story.
No. 24. When spittle dries V discovers flight and pursues on "Thought". G uses magic wand to produce transformations: (a) vegetable garden / greens / gardener; (b) chapel / holy image / priest. Obstacles: pins → thicket. V unable to pursue any farther.
No. 25. V discovers flight next day and pursues on "Thought". Transformations [Horse / saddle / bridle / G / H]: (a) Saw-mill / tree-trunk / saw / sawyer / sawyer; (b) chapel / altar / rosary / image / hermit; (c) enclosure / rose-bush / — / rose / bird. V abandons pursuit. VW curses G.
No. 26. V discovers flight and VW urges him to pursue at full speed on the other horse which [also] travels at 100 leagues with every stride. Transformations [horse / saddle / rifle / G / H]: (a) tree stump / bed of onions / hummingbird / stream / old negro bathing in stream; (b) bell / altar / prayer-book / church / priest. Obstacle: ash → fog.

G. *Curse, Separation, Oblivion*
No. 1. H leaves G near his family palace while he goes to bring his father and court to meet her. H is embraced by his mother from behind and forgets G.
No. 2. H and G rest after pursuit. H becomes homesick. H gives G ring to wear until he returns. 'Arts' of shoemaker's daughter cause H to forget G.
No. 3. H leaves G while he goes to visit his father. H forgets G and becomes engaged to another girl.
No. 4. VW curses that as soon as H enters his family palace he will be embraced from behind and forget G. Curse is qualified by G: it will only last until G returns ring H has given her. H asks G to remain outside palace while he gets permission for her to enter. H embraces parents, but as he begins to ask permission to introduce G, he is embraced from behind by his grandmother and forgets G completely. H becomes engaged to marry his cousin.
No. 5. H leaves G to wait by roadside as he is so young he is embarrassed to appear with her at palace without permission. G warns H not to allow his milk-nurse to kiss him. H embraced by parents and sister, but when begins to ask permission to introduce G, his nurse comes upon him unawares and kisses him. H immediately forgets G.
No. 6. [Truncated account: said to be same as no. 3].
No. 7. H and G come to H's father's house. No oblivion episode.
No. 8. Cursed by VW, G returns to palace of her parents, oblivious of H, who himself wanders the world oblivious of G. When her parents (V, VW) die, G decides to get married.
No. 9. As soon as cursed by V, G finds herself alone and lost in desert. Godmother appears and advises her to wear out iron shoes to counteract V's curse.
No. 10. No oblivion episode.
No. 11. V curses G to be forgotten by H as soon as he is kissed by another person. H takes G home with him, but is kissed by sister while he sleeps. When he wakes, H does not recognize G and so she goes away.
No. 12. G predicts H will forget her when he reaches his home. H forgets G.
No. 13. H leaves G in wasteland outside city while he goes to arrange proper clothes for her. G predicts H will forget her as soon as embraced by another person. H embraced from behind by his milk-nurse and forgets G.

No. 14. H leaves G at inn while he goes to get his father's permission to introduce her at court. H forgets G in joy of seeing his family again. H agrees to marry another person.
No. 15. H tells G to wait on rock where he first met her until he returns with his father's permission to marry her. G predicts H will forget her. H promises not to close his eyes until he returns, but is overcome by great sleepiness when reaches his palace. H forgets G.
No. 16. H tells G to wait at border of kingdom while he arranges coach and proper reception for her. G warns H not to allow anyone to embrace him or he will forget her for 7 years. H embraced from behind by his great grandmother, and forgets G.
No. 17. VW curses G that as soon as H embraced by someone when he returns home H will forget G. H leaves G while he goes for carriage. G warns him not to let anyone embrace him. An old woman embraces H's leg and H forgets everything that has taken place.
No. 18. V curses H that first person to embrace him will cause H to forget G. H leaves G at an inn, and does not return [implicit occurrence of embrace causing oblivion].
No. 19. No separation or oblivion episodes.
No. 20. VW curses G that when H returns to his family he will forget her. G uses magic wand to produce palace in wasteland at edge of her territory, but after 3 months H becomes homesick. When H visits his home, his grandmother embraces him from behind and he forgets all about G.
No. 21. No separation or oblivion episodes.
No. 22. No separation or oblivion episodes.
No. 23. No separation or oblivion episodes.
No. 24. No separation or oblivion episodes.
No. 25. VW begs God to make H ungrateful and spurn G. After living together for some time H and G separate. H forgets all about G and arranges to marry another princess.
No. 26. Despite G's plea, H kisses his aunt's hand when he returns home. H forgets all about G.

H. *Recall and Reunion*
No. 1. G uses magic wand to create palace with deep well. Noble suitor visits G who sends him to bring glass of water from well. Suitor fails to produce a drop of water all night. Suitor tells story to H who visits G's palace but does not recognize her. Overcome by vertigo at deepness of well, H realizes "These must be the tricks of Dona Branca Flor!". Reunion. Marriage.
No. 2. G comes to live in house at entrance of city. G parades lamb in front of H and his new fiancée, warning it not to forget its powers of movement the way H forgot to go back for G. But H fails to recognize significance of what G says. G confronts H as he enters church to marry new fiancée but is unrecognized by him and rejected. In anger G removes ring from her finger and puts it on H's finger. H remembers everything. Reunion and marriage same day.
No. 3. G offers to make wedding dress for H's new fiancée. H meets G on wedding day but doesn't recognize her. G touches H's legs and asks if he remembers losing them when he crossed sea on dove's back. H remembers everything and recognizes G. Parable of canary and sparrow [old and new key]. Wedding guests agree H must marry G. Marriage.
No. 4. G hired as maid at H's palace on eve of his wedding to new fiancée. H falls ill and G takes him cup of tea. G puts ring on H's finger and H recognizes G. H calls parents and relates how G saved his soul. Parents approve marriage between H and G.
No. 5. G creates palace outside H's city and sits at window. Three court officials visit her in turn and G locks each suitor in room full of sacks of flour, where they spend night (a) sifting flour, (b) kneading and (c) rolling out the dough. Suitors inform H of their experiences and he visits G's palace. After eating and drinking H becomes sleepy, but

despite G's lessons is unable to untie bed curtains. G says it's not surprising H forgot G. When H asks G to explain her remark, she tells him whole story. Marriage.
No. 6. [Truncated account: said to be same as no. 3].
No. 7. H and G marry according to Christian rites.
No. 8. When H hears of G's impending wedding he begins to remember and sets out for her palace. On the way 2 doves offer to help him. H becomes servant at G's palace and prepares wedding cake. When G cuts cake the doves fly out and retell story of H and G. Then G remembers, recognizes H and awards him V's crown which H won in initial gambling contest.
No. 9. After 7 years wandering G manages to wear hole in one of iron shoes. Godmother advises G to become servant of a count and gives G cake to give count on his wedding day. Count is H but neither H nor G recognize one another. H cuts cake and 2 doves appear and retell story of G and H, causing them to remember and recognize one another. H abandons new fiancée in favour of his true wife.
No. 10. G and H come to H's city and live there happily.
No. 11. G goes to live in house opposite H's palace and sits at window. 3 chamberlains visit G in turn. Suitors' tasks: (a) light a candle (strikes flint and steel without success until fingers bleed); (b) pour glass of water (pours water over himself until soaked); (c) shut window against wind (beaten by window until spits blood). H visits G who enchants him so that each door he opens in her house reveals one of the transformation scenes of the elopement episode. H remembers and asks forgiveness of eel (transformation c). Eel turns itself back into G. Marriage.
No. 12. G dresses as widow and becomes an innkeeper. H and 3 friends visit inn but spend whole night in compulsive activities: (a) and (b) dressing and undressing; (c) raising and lowering well bucket; (d) opening and closing front door. H decides to marry another person. At feast to celebrate forthcoming wedding all guests required to tell their stories. G strikes 2 bowls together and 2 doves appear who retell story of G and H. H remembers and abandons his wedding plans so as to marry G.
No. 13. G given shelter by old woman. H gets engaged to someone else. On wedding eve G sends old woman's son to parade the horse of 7 colours in front of H and recite a verse warning the horse not to forget its powers of movement the way H forgot G. H remembers and abandons his wedding plans. Marriage of H and G.
No. 14. G invokes aid of her sisters. The 3 sisters are brought to H in form of 3 doves. The doves begin to speak and the 3rd dove gives H ring and necklace to try on for size. H only fully remembers when he sees G's name on feather. Marriage.
No. 15. G comes to 3 day tournament at H's palace. Despite all H's efforts he cannot get a calf to move. G tells calf not to be like H who forgot his powers of movement and never went back for G. H remembers and recognizes G and takes her to meet his parents. Marriage.
No. 16. H goes hunting and chases deer to a thicket where G appears leading hedgehog on silk leash. G warns hedgehog not to lose its power of movement the way H forgot to return for G. H remembers everything. Hedgehog turns back into horse ("Wind"). Marriage of G and H.
No. 17. G becomes innkeeper. H is attracted by G's maid and visits with 2 friends. Suitors spend whole night in compulsive tasks: (a) emptying water-jug; (b) whipping themself; (c) strumming a guitar. H becomes engaged to someone else. G is hired to provide sweets at wedding banquet. G is asked to tell her story at end of meal and uses 2 talking doves to retell events. When female dove reminds male dove of her warning not to allow anyone to embrace him because he would forget, H remembers and recognizes G as his true wife.
No. 18. G becomes companion to a countess. When H is about to marry someone else, G visits palace in company of countess and uses 2 dolls to narrate story. H remembers and chooses G as his true bride.

No. 19. No separation or oblivion episodes. G and H marry.
No. 20. G invites H to banquet at her palace. H doesn't recognize her until G tells entire story. Reunion.
No. 21. No separation of H and G: they continue to live on mountain to this day.
No. 22. No separation of H and G: they manipulate life of V until he dies.
No. 23. No separation of H and G: story ends when V abandons pursuit.
No. 24. No separation of H and G: they marry.
No. 25. G provides pair of talking doves as pre-wedding entertainment. Doves retell story of H and G. H remembers and cancels new marriage. H marries G who saved his life.
No. 26. G loses her magic powers living in H's country and becomes same size as everyone else, living unhappily therafter. No reunion.

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Abbreviations

ARV	Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore. Uppsala: The Royal Gustav Adolphus Academy.
CNRS	Centre National de Recherche Scientifique.
DML	Brunel, Pierre (ed.) 1988: *Dictionnaire des Mythes Littéraires*. Monaco: Éditions du Rocher.
EM	Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1977–.
ER	Eliade, Mircea (ed.) 1987: *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. London: Collier Macmillan.
Fabula	Journal of Folktale Studies. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
FF	Folklore Fellows
ICALP	Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.
ISFNR	International Society for Folk Narrative Research.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
KHM	Grimm, Jacob & Wilhelm 1857 (1st ed. 1812–1815): *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Berlin.
Lares	Rivista di Studi Demo-etno-antropologici. Florence.
MAFLS	Memoirs of the American Folklore Society.
A Tradição	Revista mensal d'ethnographia portugueza. Serpa, 1899–1904. Facsimile edition in 2 vols. Serpa: Câmara Municipal de Serpa, 1982.

Note: * indicates works I have not directly consulted.

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